The Development of the Modern Zheng in Taiwan and Singapore.

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The Development of The Modern Zheng in Taiwan and Singapore

by

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Content

CD Contents

A CD entitled Daphne Kao's Zheng Music is included at the back of this thesis. It contains video recording of zheng pieces performed by the author in 2003.

The first three pieces are performed using the sixteen stringed, steel stringed zheng, while the last two pieces are performed using the twenty-one stringed, nylon stringed zheng. The recording demonstrates the general sitting posture and fingering techniques. It also shows the differences between zheng pieces based on these two types of zhengs. For instance, twenty-one stringed zheng pieces tend to be longer, have more harmony, and be played using artificial nails.

The video file "shdKao's VCD" is in mpeg format and should be comptatible with the Windows platform on the computer. The following pieces are recorded:

(1) *Jiaochuang Yeyu* 蕉窗夜雨 [Banana Tree by the Window on Rainy Night]* (sixteen stringed, steel stringed zheng)

(2) *Shanglou* 上楼 [Going Upstair]* (sixteen stringed, steel stringed zheng)

(3) *Bainiao Chaofeng* 百鸟朝凤 [Hundred Bird Paying Respect to the Phoenix]* (sixteen stringed, steel stringed zheng)

(4) *Gaoshan Liushui* 高山流水 [High Moundation Flowing Water] (twenty-one stringed, nylon stringed zheng)

(5) *Liuyang He* 浏阳河 [River Liuyang] (twenty-one stringed, nylon stringed zheng)

Also included is a CD containing three renditions of the zheng piece *Chunjiang Huayueye* that is analysed in Chapter 5. These pieces are reproduced in full for academic research and non-profit purposes only.[+] The audio files are in mp3 format and should be comptatible with the Windows platform on the computer:

File name	Title on CD
1 Qiu Dacheng	A Wonderful Moon-night Over the Chun-River (Qiu Dacheng 1993 – Discography)
2 Hon Seewah	Happy Spring Evening (Hon Seewah 1996 – Discography)
3 Liang Tsaip'ing	春江花月夜 *Chunjiang Huayueye* (Liang Tsaip'ing 1991 – Discography)

[*]From Liang Tsaip'ing's (1979a) scores , with fingering techniques and ornamentations added by Yang Ronghui.

[+]The original CDs, purchased by the author, together with a tape by Liang Tsaip'ing (1994 – Discography) would be donated to the library of the University of Durham at the time of submission of this thesis.

List of Maps, Figures, and Photographs

The Development of The Modern Zheng in Taiwan and Singapore

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Abstract

Modern zheng music is distinguished by the large-scale movement of people and rapid dissemination of music through electronic media within and across national boundaries. The impact of such globalising factors on the local music culture forms the theme of the thesis. The development of zheng music in Mainland China, Taiwan and Singapore is discussed. Rapid changes in instrument making, repertory, performance, teaching and transmission have taken place over the past fifty years. These changes are shown to be closely linked to the interaction between ethnicity and nationalism. Zheng music originated from the Chinese Mainland, and developed into many schools of repertory and styles. From 1949 to 1987, the ban on communication with the Mainland led to the development of a unique musical style in Taiwan. This ban cut Taiwan off from the rapid modernisation of zheng music on the Mainland under the direction of the Communist government. As a result, the new Mainland tradition was transmitted to Singapore and Malaysia first, and musicians from these countries were able to bring the new repertory to Taiwan. In Singapore, the development of zheng music in the 1950s and 1960s was closely correlated with the popularity of Chinese schools and communism. After independence in 1965, communism was eradicated and schools converted to the medium of English. Zheng music declined for a number of years, but started to grow again soon after the Cultural Revolution on the Mainland ended. The need for ethnic identity in both Taiwan and Singapore provides motivation to maintain links with the Chinese Mainland and to continue the development of zheng music.

Preface

This thesis seeks to understand the impact of migration and globalisation processes on Chinese zheng 箏 music. In particular, the impact on zheng music in Taiwan 台湾 and Singapore 新加坡 after the mass migrations from Mainland China 中国大陆[1] to these two countries in the twentieth century is studied. The role and significance of the relation between zheng music and ethnic identity, and the interaction between ethnicity and nationalism that is manifested in the practise of zheng music, are explored.[2]

Formulating the Research

What prompted me to focus my thesis on this theme is the obvious difference in zheng music practise that I noticed when I first came from Taiwan to settle down in Singapore in 1992. At that time, zheng music was less popular in Singapore. The compact discs released by the few zheng musicians were more on popular music. Hardly any music score was published by local zheng musicians. Notations were often hand-written and kept either by performers or music shops where the zheng was taught. In addition to popular music from Hong Kong and Taiwan, these also included some Malay and Indonesian folk music adapted to the zheng. This was in stark contrast with Taiwan, where scores published by local zheng musicians were in abundance and could be found in musical shops, book shops, and schools and with performers themselves. These were usually quite comprehensive, with explanations of the zheng instrument, its history, and

[1] I shall refer to "Mainland China" as "the Mainland" 大陆.

[2] For the discussion in this thesis, ethnic identity is defined as a sense of belonging to an ethnic group. The definitions of ethnicity and nationalism will be explained in section 1.3.

the fingering techniques of traditional and the modern zheng pieces. More significantly, zheng music in Singapore had followed the style of zheng music from the Mainland for many years, whereas in Taiwan the transition to the Mainland style was only just taking place. Zheng competitions were held in both Taiwan and Singapore. However, in Singapore, they were often held in combination with other Chinese and Western musical instruments.

Through talking with zheng musicians in Singapore, I learnt that they, for many years, have been travelling to Shanghai 上海 and Beijing 北京 to learn from the masters there. This was impossible in Taiwan before lifting of the martial law in 1987. Even today, travel and communications, though permitted, have to take place largely via Hong Kong 香港. In the bookshops in Singapore, Mainland books were in abundance and quite a number of Mainland music scores were readily available, something that was unheard of in Taiwan until after 1987. I was a zheng teacher in Taiwan from 1981 to 1992, and teaching zheng music in Singapore was an altogether different experience. In Taiwan, instructors were mostly native. In Singapore, especially since the 1990s, the instructors were usually from the Mainland. Students' cultural backgrounds were also different, even though they were, and still are, mostly Chinese, and this means that teaching of musical interpretation has to be different. Zheng musicians in Singapore said that the political history of Singapore was very different from Taiwan, and this had a large impact on the rise or decline of zheng music. For instance, not long after my arrival in 1992, the Singapore government began opening its doors to foreign talents and actively promoted cultural activities; this has led to an influx of Mainland zheng musicians who visit

Singapore for short or long stays, to teach and to perform, as well as a corresponding increase in student numbers and zheng performances.

These differences are all the more puzzling not only because we are looking at the same zheng music, but also because most of the people in Taiwan and Singapore migrated from the same region in southern China, in and around the provinces of Fujian 福建 and Guangdong 广东. It seems logical therefore to suppose that something different must have happened in the two countries, during the period of time between the mass migrations and today. A quick look at the history books reveals a number of interesting facts. The Chinese have migrated continually to both countries for several centuries, but in Singapore a wave of mass migration took place at the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In Taiwan, the same happened in 1949 because of the defeat of the Nationalist army by the Communist army. Singapore was a British colony until it became an independent nation in 1965. Its ethnic composition today is approximately 77% Chinese, 14% Malays and 8% Indians, and a small percentage of other races. After independence the schools, most of which had used Mandarin Chinese as a medium of instruction, were completely converted to English medium within a few years. For a brief period around the end of the Cultural Revolution 文化大革命 (1966-1976), travel to the Mainland was banned. Taiwan was a Japanese colony until the Nationalist government took over in 1945. Although it declared itself the ruler of all China, in practise, communication with the Mainland was banned from 1949 to 1987. Taiwan is 97% Chinese and 3% Aboriginals. Schools in Taiwan use mainly Mandarin Chinese as

medium of instruction,[3] and education, apart from the sciences, is centred on pre-1949 Mainland culture and history, with a strong emphasis in classical literature and the ideology of counter-attack – to regain the Mainland territory.

Could these factors have caused the difference in zheng music? This is what I set out to explore in this thesis. In the midst of all these changes, there was one constant. That is the fact that zheng musicians in both Singapore and Taiwan followed closely the Mainland musical style whenever they were able to do so. Mainland China, the place of origin, seemed to be representative of what zheng music "really" was. This observation has prompted me to consider the possibility of ethnic identity as a principal motivating factor for the practise of zheng music. The physical communication necessary to maintain this identity with the Mainland has often been disrupted by the exigencies of nationalism in Singapore and Taiwan (erection of national boundaries, ideological conflict, etc.). This thesis approaches the problem of differences in zheng music practise by studying the interaction between ethnicity and nationalism in the two countries.

Research Background

I was a local Taiwanese, born in 1964, in the middle of the first period of zheng music there.[4] My grandparents came from the Fujian province on the Mainland and belonged to the Minnanese dialect 闽南语 group. I grew up learning Mandarin, classical

[3] When the Nationalist government first arrived in 1949, the languages of Japanese, Mandarin, and Minnanese were used as media of instruction. Within a short time, however, Japanese and Taiwanese were banned. It was not until the year 2000, Taiwanese and some other Chinese dialects, under the encouragement by the government, were taught in the schools.

[4] I became a citizen of Singapore in 1996.

Chinese literature, and the Three Principles of the People 三民主义.[5] Despite my Minnanese ethnicity, I have difficulty in speaking the Minnanese dialect because I was brought up in an orphanage, where I was taught only Mandarin Chinese. I did not see or hear a zheng instrument until 1980, at about the age of sixteen, near the end of the first period of zheng music in Taiwan.[6] I believe that my education and cultural upbringing was not all that different from my fellow zheng musicians in Taiwan.[7] When I heard zheng music for the first time, I was attracted to it so strongly that I immediately decided to learn it. Many zheng musicians I interviewed had similar experience. I was fortunate in that I could start winning zheng competitions within a few years, so that zheng teaching became my profession. In 1991, I went to Hong Kong to study Mainland zheng music for a year, and observed the large difference from Taiwanese musical style. In 1992, I settled down in Singapore, taught zheng music from 1993 to 1996, and experienced the different ways that zheng music was practised there.

The effect of nationalism can at times be felt directly by zheng musicians. From 1949 to 1987, the zheng music from the Mainland was strictly banned in Taiwan. Some of the zheng musicians were often concerned about being discovered practising the Mainland repertory by government agents. This was so even as late as 1992, five years after the lifting of martial law. That year, I went back to Taiwan and discussed a concert with my zheng teacher. I wanted to choose *Liu Yang He* 浏阳河 [River LiuYang] to perform. He immediately told me not to select this piece as the government had not fully

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[5] Formulated by the father of modern China, Sun Yatsen 孙逸仙. The "Three Principles" was the version of nationalism projected by the Nationalist government.

[6] Periodisation of zheng music in Taiwan is discussed in section 3.1. There, the first period is defined as from 1949 to 1980, the second period from 1981 to 1987, and the third period from 1988 to the present.

[7] A number of zheng musicians I interviewed also indicated that they had no contact with zheng music until their late teens.

opened its door to the Mainland. In Singapore, likewise, when I interviewed zheng musicians during my fieldwork in 1997, I discovered that many of them avoided talking about the pre-independence period when the schools in Singapore mostly[8] used Chinese as the medium of instruction, and was dominated by Communist students. The reason for this silence may be related to the fact that communism has been illegal in Singapore since independence in 1965.[9] As it turned out, one of the most famous zheng musicians, a communist in the 1960s, was willing to tell me about the tumultuous events of the period – strikes, mass arrests in the (Chinese medium) Nanyang University, closing down of many Chinese music groups – but preferred to remain anonymous.

From my background experience, it would seem obvious why I chose zheng music as an object of study in this thesis. However, I would like to argue that there is something special about the zheng when compared to other Chinese musical instruments. Firstly, the number of people learning zheng had increased greatly over the past few decades. Secondly, there are zheng specialist shops in Taiwan selling only zheng, but few specialist shops for any other Chinese musical instruments. Thirdly, there is a large amount of prose and poetry in classical Chinese literature that praises the beauty of zheng music and dwells on its ability to elicit deep sentiments. Apart from the *qin* 琴, there is little comparable writing on other instruments. Fourthly, the rapid changes of zheng music in Singapore and Taiwan also provide interesting data that are closely correlated with political developments.

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[8] Gretchen Liu (1999): "By 1939, there were 72,000 children at school, whom 38,000 studied in Chinese schools, 27,000 in English schools, 6,000 in Malay schools and 1,000 in Tamil schools. Yet, many children, especially girls, still did not attend school."

[9] Some of Singaporean interviewees recommended that I should consult Goh Ek Meng. At that time, Goh was writing a series of articles for the newspaper on "The Early History of Singapore Chinese Music between 1950s-70s". This series had been featured from 1996 to 1997, and was also published as a book (Goh 1998).

Research Methodology

When I started my Ph.D. research in 1996, I had already had a large amount of scores, cassettes and compact discs on zheng music, publications, programme notes and photographs of zheng concerts. In 1997, I started my fieldwork and began systematically to interview zheng musicians in Singapore, Malaysia and Taiwan, and to gather more data on teaching, performances, as well as the culture and history of the three countries.

In Taiwan, I contacted many of the zheng musicians whom I knew when I was in Taiwan. They include (the late) Liang Tsaip'ing 梁在平, Yang Ronghui 杨荣惠, Cheng Teyuan 郑德渊, Wei Tei-Don 魏德栋, Huang Haoyin 黄好吟, Shih Ch'ingchieh 施清介, Liao Wenchang 廖文章 and Chuang Kuonien 庄国年, all of whom are famous zheng musicians. They kindly provided me with a large amount of details not only about their own teaching and performing experiences, but also about how they adapted as government policy towards the Mainland changed. They have given me more of their compact discs, videotapes of performances and publications. Although each developed distinctive styles, many of them have learnt from Liang Tsaip'ing (a pioneer of zheng music in Taiwan) in the past. I have heard much about him and his influence from my teacher Yang Ronghui, and had met him on a number of occasions in Taiwan and in England. During my fieldwork, I visited his house in Taipei. In spite of his advanced age, he patiently spent two days recounting his early experiences, and gave me a large amount of recordings and publications. All of the zheng musicians have consented to my taping of the interviews, although some would request that I stop taping momentarily when they touched on sensitive matters, which generally meant criticisms in one form or another.

I continued my fieldwork in Singapore after returning from Taiwan. I did not have the benefit of a network of contacts such as the one I had built up in Taiwan. In the beginning, I only knew Yeo Siew Wee 杨秀伟 and Lian Yoong Liang 连荣史[10] was kindly consented to a first interview. Fortunately, zheng musicians in Singapore were very helpful in introducing me to fellow zheng musicians they knew, so my network of contacts grew. A few of the notable interviews were with Au Yong Eang 欧阳良荣 (by telephone), Tay Teow Kiat 郑朝吉, Chek Siew Ming 戚兆铭, Huang Jinliang 黄锦亮, Thum Soon Boon 谭春文, Tan Chin Huat 陈振发, Zhang Lufen 张路芬, Yin Qun 尹群, Chen Huilan 陈慧兰 and He Xiaotong 何小彤. A few of them I have visited more than once and observed their teaching and practises. Another interesting field experience was my visit to two opera groups, Thau Yong 陶融 and Er Woo 余娱. In Er Woo, for example, the zheng in this group was played as part of an ensemble. Traditional pieces were performed and the notations were in *gongchepu* 工尺谱, which is seldom used today. Fortunately, I had some knowledge of *gongchepu* which I had studied out of personal interest, and the group was very kind in allowing me to participate in their rehearsals. The members were mostly above fifty years old, and were probably curious and happy to see a young person like me taking such a great interest in their music. I have also interviewed other musicians, including Goh Ek Meng 吴奕明, a *pipa* musician and a writer on Chinese music, as well as some student zheng music groups.

My fieldwork has given me a much broader view of zheng music than I had been

[10] Yeo , the owner of Karl Heng Enterprise 嘉兴企业 (a Chinese musical instrument shop). Lian, a zheng teacher and the owner of Chong Yee Music Centre 忠艺音乐中心.

able to see during my ten years of teaching in Taiwan. I have observed that there can be different ways of playing and thinking about zheng music. My interviews have provided me with data on the different ways that zheng musicians would react to change in government policy. The complex interplay between ethnicity and nationalism in my field observation has played a significant part in shaping the direction of my thesis.

Technical Notes

There are a few systems of romanisation used for pronunciation of Chinese characters. On the Mainland, *pinyin* 拼音 is used, while in Taiwan, it is the Wade-Giles system.[11] The instrument under study, for example, is romanised as "zheng" in *pinyin* but "*cheng*" in Wade-Giles. Both of these systems, however, were designed to romanise only Mandarin Chinese, not other Chinese dialect languages. For example, the name of this same instrument is pronounced quite differently in other dialects: in Minnanese, it is close to *jing*. One further problem is that this instrument's ancient one-character name is now often prefixed by a character meaning "ancient", as in Mandarin *guzheng* 古箏 or Minnanese *gojing*.[12]

In Singapore, although the *pinyin* system has also been adopted by the government and in schools, the English names of the Chinese people there are often individual renderings, without reference to any particular system, but largely based on the dialect spoken. In this thesis, the romanisation of names of persons and places would

[11] There are a large number of web sites explaining these systems, e.g. http://www.wlu.edu/~hhill/tlit.html, http://home.bip.net/zein/chinen8p.html, http://www.loc.gov/catdir/pinyin/romcover.html.
[12] There is no standard romanisation for Minnanese, but there are number of sources on this language in English, such as the dictionaries by Medhurst (1837), Douglas (1899), Bodman (1955, 1958) and Embree (1984). There are also a number of internet resources: e.g. http://daiwanway.dynip.com, http://www.chinalanguage.com/Language/, http://betelnut.org/info/books/english/english.html

follow that of the country, or what they are most comfortable with. Even so, there could be cases of confusion, such as the different romanisations given to the same Chinese dialect depending on the language of the person describing it (e.g. Fujian vs. Hokkien). Names of zheng pieces and Chinese publications are romanised from their Mandarin versions, in the *pinyin* system, regardless of the place of publication.

In this thesis, reference will sometimes be made to certain periods of Chinese history, when the cultural products (stories, poems, etc.) have remained a significant influence on zheng music today. Poetry from the Tang dynasty, for instance, is still widely used to interpret zheng music today. Chinese historians have periodised the history of the Mainland over the ages, based mainly on dynasties. Each dynasty often corresponded to one lineage of the ruling family. Some of the periods were not dynasties, such as the Warring States period, when China was divided by a number of kingdoms. A summary of the periods is given in the following table (Worden, Savada and Dolan 1987:Table A). Note that some of the periods listed, such as Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties, consisted of a large number of shorter dynasties or kingdoms grouped together as one period. Also, some of them overlap, representing the fact that a dynasty might survive for some time in one part of China, when a new dynasty had started in another.

Dates	Dynasty
475-221 B.C.	Warring States period 战国时代[13]

[13] The summary starts from the first period that is relevant to this thesis, the Warring States period. There are earlier periods that have not bee included. Some periods, like the Song dynasty, were also fragmented into smaller periods, such as the Northern and Southern Song. Further details are found in Worden, Savada and Dolan (1987:Table A).

221-207 B.C.	Qin 秦
206 B.C.-A.D. 220	Han 汉
A.D. 220-588	Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties 魏晋南北朝
A.D. 581-617	Sui 隋
A.D. 618-907	Tang 唐
A.D. 907-960	Five Dynasties 五代
A.D. 960-1279	Song 宋
A.D. 1279-1368	Yuan 元
A.D. 1368-1644	Ming 明
A.D. 1644-1911	Qing 清

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Objectives

Overview

This thesis is about how the development of the music of the zheng, a Chinese zither of considerable symbolic significance within Chinese culture, is influenced by the forces of nationalism and ethnicity in the twentieth century. Mass migration and electronic media have important roles in this development. Mass migrations that took place throughout the twentieth century brought zheng music to many parts of Asia and the rest of the world. Advances in electronic media have allowed Chinese people in many parts of the world to experience zheng music through the exchange of recordings, videos and scores at a rate that has not been possible in the past. These two factors have also brought zheng music into close contact with music of other cultures, and Western music in particular has significant influence. There are some writings in English on zheng music[1] which focus mainly on changes and musical styles within Mainland China The large numbers of Chinese publications tend to emphasise history and techniques. This thesis studies the change that has taken place in modern zheng music, and explores the factors that affects the rate and extent, the nature and direction of the change, particularly in relation to issues of ethnic and national identities.

[1] E.g. Kwok (1987), Cheng (1991), Chen (1991), Koegel (1991), Thrasher (2000) and van Gulik (1951). There are also writings in French, e.g. Rault-Leyrat (1987).

Economic depression near the end of the nineteenth century had resulted in mass migration from Southern China to America and Southeast Asia (Pan 2000:56; Turnbull: 1999:105; Lepoer 1989:Chapter 1). The Communist takeover in 1949 (Worden, Savada and Dolan 1987:Chapter 1) led to mass migration to Taiwan, Hong Kong and some Western countries. When the Communist government promoted the use of knowledge in Western arts to improve the Chinese arts (Liu Jingzhi 1998:388), it led to a modernised zheng repertory, which Chinese communities in other countries wanted to learn. Zheng musicians in these countries went through much difficulty to do so, which included braving the government ban in their country on communicating with or travelling to the Mainland, and enduring the hardship of travelling and learning on the Mainland not long after the Cultural Revolution. Mainland China had a greater availability of scores, more professional composers, and a larger number of famous zheng musicians. However, this could not explain why they did not give up zheng music and turn to more readily available options, such as Western music, an option that was indeed taken by a large number of people in Taiwan and Singapore. It is the argument of this thesis that the need for ethnic identity, defined as a sense of belonging to an ethnic group (e.g. Hutchinson and Smith 1996:5), is an important motivation. Even before the young nationalistic governments in Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore had lifted their ban on communications with the Mainland, the modernised zheng repertory had found its way across the boundaries of these countries.[2]

[2] For the discussion in this thesis, Taiwan will be treated as if it is an independent nation, because national education has successfully produced a nation-like locality within the island (see e.g. Su (1999:12)). It does not represent any political affiliation of the author.

Taiwan and Singapore

During the martial law period from 1949 to 1987 (Maguire 2000:34), in spite of the fact that zheng music had been widely practised in Taiwan by the same Chinese people, it became very difficult to perform any Mainland zheng repertory because of the Nationalist government ban on Mainland products. In this way, Taiwanese nationalism manifested itself in preserving a sense of locality, to the extent of cutting off links between people of the same ethnic group.[3] Today, although the barriers to travel and communication with China has yet to be completely lifted, Mainland zheng music is now widely practised in Taiwan. The flow of Mainland zheng musicians and repertory into Taiwan has become so rapid that national boundaries appear irrelevant. The same is true of other Mainland music genres, such as *pipa* 琵琶 [Chinese lute] and *erhu* 二胡 [two-stringed fiddle].

On the other hand, in colonial Singapore, from around 1923 to 1965, Chinese communists had been active (Lee Ting Hui 1996:1; Lee Kuan Yew 1998:167). According to an informant in Singapore who was a zheng musician in the 1960s, zheng music had been used as one of the means to gather students and thereby facilitate the spread of Chinese communism. The role of music in defining identity and place has been widely studied (e.g. Stokes 1994), and the role of zheng music in creating a sense of identity with Mainland China is a recurrent theme to which this thesis will return. When Singapore gained independence from her British colonial masters in 1965, the government of the new nation clamped down on communist activities. Chinese schools

[3] It should be mentioned, however, that, the motivation of the Nationalist government for doing so might have been a mixture of ideology of counter-attack (Mancall 1963), and maintaining the status quo (Ito 2001).

declined. For a number of years, zheng music activities also declined. My informant, who happened to be a communist then, was detained for half a year. Such events had a negative impact on zheng musicians (see section 4.3). Another informant, who was not communist, remains apprehensive to this day, and avoided talking about that period. The government, however, believes in the importance of sustaining the Chinese culture, and implemented policies such as bilingualism whereby all Chinese students in English schools must learn Mandarin Chinese (Pakir 1992; Ho 2000:44). However, when the political environment on the Mainland stabilised after the Cultural Revolution, zheng musicians from Singapore started travelling there to learn from the masters. Famous zheng musicians were invited to perform and teach in Singapore.

For the above reasons, zheng music offers a suitable case study on the interaction among music, ethnicity, and nationalism.

1.2 Zheng Music

The Instrument

Photo 1 shows a picture of a typical modern zheng instrument.[4] The main body is usually made of paulownia wood, which is grown in various parts of Asia, including central China, Taiwan, Japan (Cheng 1997:75), as well as America. The zheng in the photo has twenty-one strings, drawn horizontally over the curved, top surface. The strings are made from steel wires with a layer of nylon strands wound around each wire.

[4] Historical development of zheng is described in more detail in section 2.4, but here I shall just note that the number of strings has increased and the material has changed from silk to copper, then stainless steel, and finally nylon wound steel. Although twenty-one stringed zheng is widespread, zheng with smaller (and greater) number of strings, and even the older silk string, are still being performed.

Tuning is achieved by a combination of tension[5] and a movable bridge inserted between each string and the wooden surface. One purpose of the movable bridge is to create a large spacing between string and surface to give more freedom for the string tension to be varied during performance by depressing it towards the wood on the left-hand side of the bridge. This results in the distinctive character of zheng music that contributes significantly to its identity.

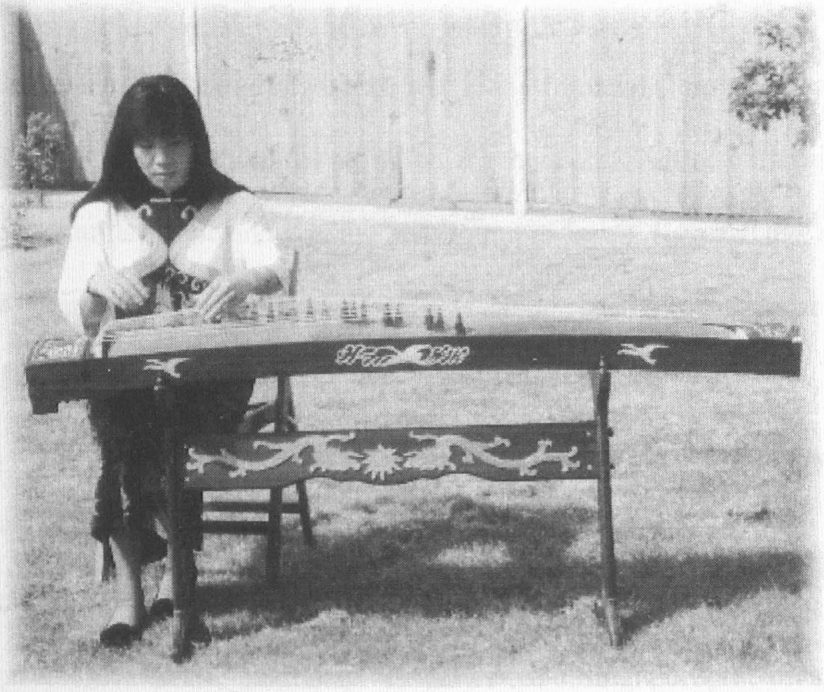


Photo 1. The author playing the twenty-one stringed zheng (photo taken in 1990 in Cambridge, U.K.).

In general, the zheng with more or fewer than twenty-one strings do exist. Modern zheng music, developed on the Mainland during the second half of the twentieth century and widely practised today by zheng musicians, is predominantly played on the

[5] Each string is fixed to a peg hidden inside the head of the zheng (labeled 1 in figure 1). The top surface of the head can be lifted off to access the pegs. The tension of a string can be adjusted by rotating its peg.

twenty-one stringed zheng. For this reason, I shall henceforth refer to modern zheng music as twenty-one stringed zheng music. This is also the way that zheng musicians often call it, when they want to distinguish it from the earlier form of zheng music. In the few decades before the invention of modern zheng music, zheng music was often played on zhengs with sixteen-strings.

Transmission

The zheng is traditionally played by people in Mainland China, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore and many other parts of the world where there are Chinese communities. Instruments of a similar shape and size are also found in Japan, Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, and other Asian countries; this family is called "half-tube zithers" by organologists (Hornbostel and Sachs 1914). Apart from physical similarity in construction, there is historical evidence of the relation between these and the Chinese zheng, but they will not be discussed here.[6] In this thesis, we concentrate on the zheng and repertory that is played on the Mainland, and the people in Taiwan and Singapore who play the same instrument and music. In Taiwan and Singapore, the music that is played on the zheng is largely from Mainland repertory imported from the Mainland, with some from the local musical traditions. The zheng is played mainly by the ethnic Chinese, and the repertory is learnt from records, tapes and scores imported from the Mainland in the early periods, as well as directly from Mainland musicians in the recent periods, whether by travelling there or inviting them here. In Taiwan, each city has a

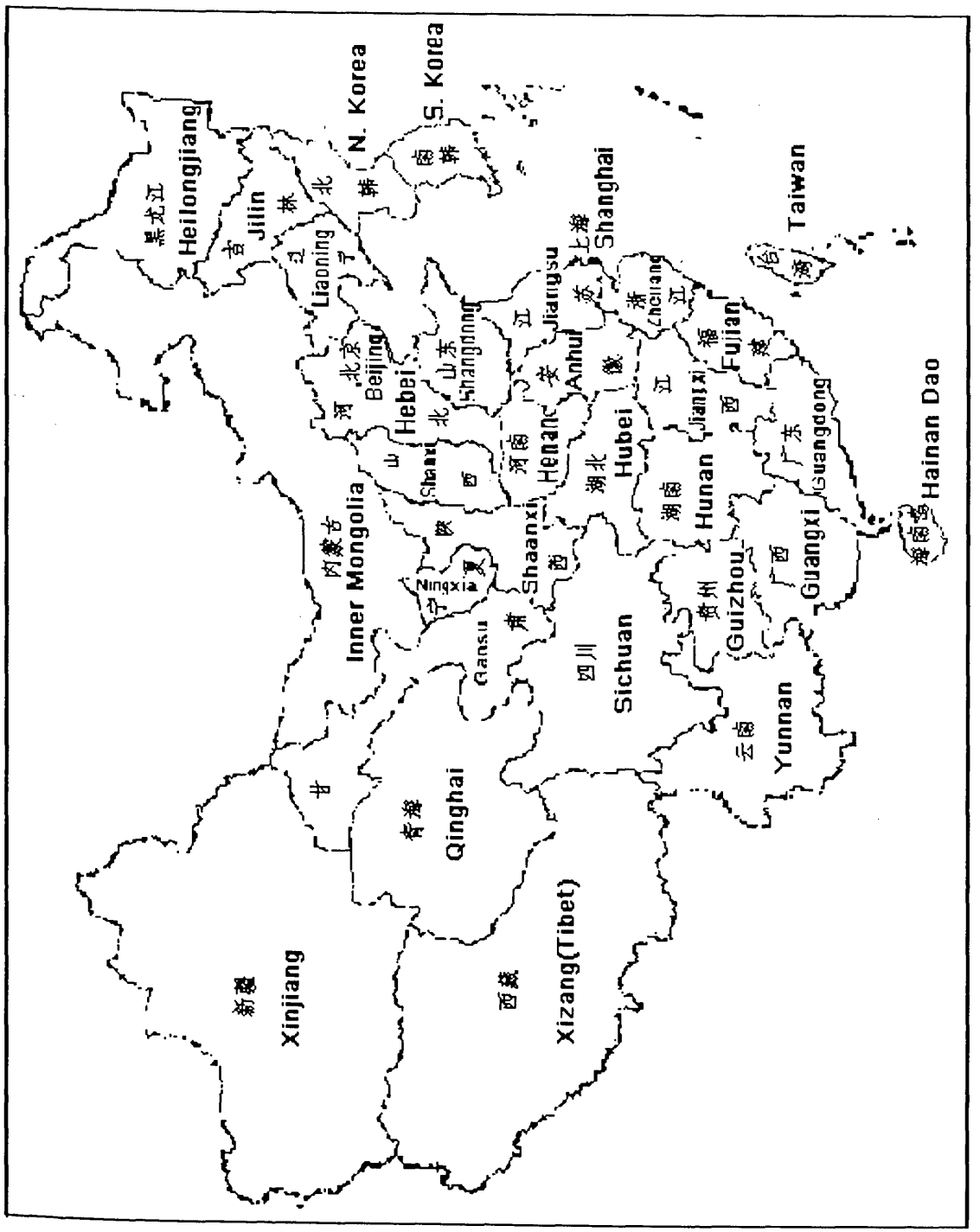
[6] For Japanese *koto*, see Prescott (1997) and De Ferranti (2000). For Korean *kayagum*, see Lee Hye-gu (1982), Howard (1988) and Song (1970). Also see *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (1984), and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* under 'Japan' (Adriaansz 2001) and 'Korea' (Provine 2001).

large number of private zheng classes. The classes are organised by individual zheng musicians, by zheng shops that also sell the instruments, by the government in designated centres, by teachers and students as extra-curricular activity in schools, and by private zheng classes. The students could be any member of the society who is interested in zheng music.[7] Zheng musicians would give performances in various concert halls in many cities, and audience consists of their students, friends, relatives and members of the public. Zheng music is an undergraduate course in some universities, and a popular extra-curricular activity in some schools and universities. In Singapore, zheng music was less organised until around the mid 1990s, when it started to become increasingly popular in schools and concerts.[8]

The actual number of zheng musicians, students and audience, who take part in zheng music activities, whether in performance, learning, or attending concerts, tend to be a small part of the population. In both Singapore and Taiwan, Western musical instruments such as piano and guitar are played by many people, and are certainly more widely seen and heard than zheng. Today, zheng musicians and audience do not have to come together physically in order to listen to the music. Modern electronic media mean that a performance can be either beamed across vast geographical distances to an audience far away, or it can be stored in the form of video and audio recordings and played back any time later. Electronic media have become an acceptable substitute for most audiences of zheng music. It is true that there are elements to a zheng performance that can only be experienced at a concert, such as gestures of musician, noise of finger

[7] Learning zheng music can be expensive in Singapore and Taiwan, though usually cheaper than learning Western instruments. The main costs go to buying the instrument and paying for the lessons.
[8] Schools appear to be one of the main places of musical activities in Singapore. One of the most famous is Dunman High School (1994), which has a large group of students learning and performing zheng music.

scraping strings, all of which provide a greater sense of realism to the production of place and identity.



Map 1. Provinces of China.[9]

[9] Outline of provinces from *Dili* (2002:10), with wordings inserted by the author.

History

According to one of the earliest known written records (*Shi Ji*:volume 87), zheng was performed in the kingdom of Qin in central China in the Shaanxi 陕西 region.[10] The Kingdom of Qin existed during the Warring States Period, which is more than 2,200 years ago. This is widely believed by zheng musicians and scholars (Van Gulik 1951:11; Cheng 1991:2; Zhou Yanjia 1992). The existence of zheng around that period is supported by archaeological findings of ancient zhengs, shown in section 2.4.1, although it is not clear whether zheng music at that time bears much similarity to zheng music today. Chinese writings since then appear to show a fairly gradual evolution in the shape and size of the zheng instrument (Cheng 1991:2-8). Zheng musicians today borrow heavily on historical writings for the interpretation of zheng music. Some works recorded in ancient *qin* 琴 scores are still being performed today by zheng musicians.[11] These have to be modified first, as zheng has typically thirteen to twenty-one strings, whereas *qin* has seven strings. Some examples are *Yangguan Sandie* 阳关三叠 [Song at Yangguan],[12] *Gaoshan Liushui* 高山流水 [High Mountain Flowing Stream] and *Meihua Sannong* 梅花三弄 [Plum Blossom]. Although much of zheng repertory today consists of modern compositions and adaptations from folk songs, this cultural background, which

[10] Shaanxi is the correct English spelling for this province, although the *pinyin* is Shanxi. Shanxi is reserved for another province, 山西 – see map 1.

[11] *Qin* is another Chinese instrument of ancient origin (Liang Mingyue 1985). Like zheng, it is a half tube zither. Notes are produced by stopping each string at the correct positions, in a similar way to playing the violin, except that the strings are plucked. For over 2000 years, it was played by Chinese scholars. There is a large amount of classical writings on *qin* music.

[12] Yangguan is a gate in the Great Wall of China. The title is taken from a poem about farewell to a friend, poem was written in the Tang dynasty by Ouyang Xiu 欧阳修.

provides the historical context for modern zheng music, continues to be relevant.[13]

Modern Development

Zheng music has undergone vast changes but nevertheless has retained a lot of its characteristics.[14] However, changes in zheng music are often limited in some ways. For instance, although the zheng instrument underwent a sudden increase in size and number of strings around the 1960s (Sun Yun 1983), and innovations continued, producing increasingly complex and bulky instruments, these have not been widely accepted. The string number stabilised at twenty-one, changes in these directions having slowed down or stopped after some time. Although zhengs with higher string numbers exist, they are not widely practised. At about the same time, many new pieces were composed for the twenty-one stringed zheng, and these pieces often have harmony included. Many of these new compositions have melodies extracted from folk songs or other genres of Chinese music. These melodies were then rearranged with some variations and harmony to produce a new composition. At the same time, many old pieces were rearranged for the twenty-one stringed zheng, and are still widely practised. Some directions of change, which seem to continue today, include the move towards greater virtuosity, with zheng musicians competing to play faster and more complex pieces.

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[13] *Qin* music, from which zheng music has borrowed heavily in terms of repertory, musical style, and interpretation, appears to be less modernised and less widely played. The reasons are likely to be complex, but a few possible ones can be suggested here: the techniques are very difficult to learn; it was traditionally an instrument of the elite, not of the common people, so little effort has been made by the Communist government to modernise and use it as a propaganda tool in Mainland China; it carries much ideological baggage, and deep understanding of classical literature is needed to fully appreciate *qin* music.

[14] Zheng musicians of the old schools, like Liang Tsaip'ing, who passed away in the year 2000, would have no problem recognising the zheng music today, though he complained to me about the deviation from the traditional form that he grew up with in the 1930s.

Of particular relevance to this thesis is the strong nostalgia that the zheng instrument and music can evoke in the Chinese people's imagination. By retaining its ancient structure, the instrument declares itself as an ancient Chinese object. By looking to ancient texts for understanding of the meaning of zheng music, zheng musicians not only ensure that the way of thinking about zheng music is similar to that in past, but also demonstrate that much of the contexts produced by history - language, culture, social relationship, etc. - is still relevant today.

1.3 Sources

Globalisation

Whether it is political institutions such as communism in Mainland China, nationalism in Taiwan and democracy in Singapore, or an increasingly globalised capitalist economy in all three countries, they have all influenced modern zheng music in some ways. These institutions seem to have appeared mostly within the twentieth century, stimulated by Western colonialists and World War II. Some of the more prominent manifestations include Westernisation of the zheng repertory, reliance of zheng music on the modern economy, impact of interaction between nationalism and ethnicity, improvement of the instrument with modern technology, and increased interaction among musicians from the three countries as a result of modern transport. A number of widely explored issues in the literature are of particular relevance to this thesis. These include ethnicity, nationalism, mass migration, electronic media, globalisation, locality production, and invention of tradition. In the development of zheng music, these issues are inter-related in a complex way. In this section, I shall

review some of the relevant publications.

Globalisation has been widely studied in terms of how events in geographically remote countries can have an impact on the locality (Giddens 1990), a phenomenon sometimes referred to as the "time-space compression" (Harvey 1989:240). Global interaction is both enforced, through colonialism, and voluntarily, through Westernisation and the economic system. It is interesting to note that Appadurai (1996:178) defines locality as an interaction, and not the physical setting that forms the locality. Zheng music fits in well into this definition of locality, since music is really an interaction among people. The way that music creates a sense of belonging to a place by facilitating this interaction has been widely studied (Stokes 1994).

Mass migration causes people of the same ethnic group to spread to different parts of the world, while electronic media allow them to maintain communication as a society (Appadurai 1996:48). This has indeed happened in the case of zheng music. Electronic media have allowed zheng music to be stored and played back to a wider audience, while zheng musicians in the same ethnic group in Taiwan and Mainland China have stayed in touch with the help of electronic media. There are also other factors that facilitated interaction of the separate groups. One is the common cultural history such as the pre-existence of common zheng music, another is the flow of material goods including zheng scores and instruments, and a third concerns commercial issues that motivated such flows and interactions.

Scholarly studies on the traditions of a number of communities around the world have revealed that a significant proportion of those that were thought to have ancient origin are in fact recent inventions (Hobsbawm 1983:1). The widespread existence, and

most importantly the acceptance of such invented traditions points to a strong need for a sense of identity, often in the form of a common ancestry or place of origin (Hall 1992b: 293). These concepts have been applied to ethnomusicology. Guy (1999:512), for instance, points out that the "ancient" Peking opera really came into being only one to two hundred years ago. Lau (1996) studied the creation of the modern "traditional" Chinese music under the Communist government on the Mainland. Although his emphasis was on the *dizi* 笛子 (flute) music, many of the changes discussed also apply to zheng music.

Ethnicity and nationalism

The definitions of ethnicity and nationalism are often a source of confusion, so it would be appropriate to clarify them here. Dictionaries and textbooks often define ethnicity (and nationalism) differently. Research papers also have their own way of using these terms. Both Oxford (Hornby 1974) and Collins (Sinclair, Hanks and Fox 1992) dictionaries define ethnicity as race, and nationalism as a movement or desire for political independence. Collins dictionary further adds that nationalism comes from "a group of people who have the same religion, language, or culture". A sociology textbook (Giddens 1996:183) and an anthropology textbook (Kottak 2000:114), however, both define ethnicity as a cultural construct. Giddens emphasises that "ethnic differences are wholly learned, not inherited", while Kottak adds that ethnicity is based "not on biological features, as race is". These are very different from the dictionary definitions. By defining ethnicity as race, for instance, the dictionaries could actually lead to the belief that ethnicity is biologically based or genetic, which is misleading. Ethnicity is in

fact culturally constructed.

Giddens (1966:231,234) distinguishes three types of nationalism: classical, postcolonial and subcultural. The first type has some resemblance to the Collins dictionary definition, and has led to nation-states such as those in Europe. The United States, which Giddens also classifies under classical nationalism, does not fall within the Collins dictionary meaning, as it was already composed of people from many different countries in Europe right from the beginning. Even people in a nation-state in Europe, for example Britain, may not be made up of people with "the same religion, language, or culture", for the British are "a compound of Celtic, Briton with a heavy overlay of Germanic Angle, Saxon, Jute, Dane and Norman" (Roosens 1994:49). The second type, postcolonial nationalism, falls outside the Collins dictionary definition entirely, as former colonial masters created these with little regard for the existing ethnic compositions, which were often quite diverse. Only the third type matches the Collins dictionary definition exactly, as it refers to the case of an ethnic group within an existing nation-state that desires independence. To add to this confusion, research papers do not often clarify these distinctions, whether between ethnicity and nationalism, or between the types of nationalism. When Hall (1992b:293) discusses the need to invent national myths, he is referring mainly to classical nation-states such as Britain, though the need would appear more relevant to postcolonial nation-states where ethnic conflicts are more prominent today. When Bauer (1996:39) writes about "The Nation", he is writing about classical nationalism, as in Britain and Germany, each of which, in modern times, appear, to outsiders at least, to be of nearly uniform ethnicity. When Appadurai discusses nationalism, he is largely interested in postcolonial nation-states, such as India (1996:89),

where ethnic conflicts pervade.

When Hall (1992b:293) lists the ways that the modern nation is imagined, he includes narrative, origin, tradition, myth and identity, all of which have to be invented by the state, that "independent, centrally organised political unit" (Kottak 2000:132). These characteristics are shared by a number of authors when writing on ethnicity. On origin and tradition, Cornell and Hartmann (1998:16) call ethnic groups "those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both". On narrative and myth, Guibernau and Rex (1997:3) suggest that "what is important is a myth through which the ethnic community has attributed to its sense of unity". All four authors emphasise that the belief is subjective, which means, for instance, that even the origins and traditions of ethnic groups may be invented.

There is an increasing number of works on nationalism, colonialism, locality, ethnic identity and mass media in relation to music. Andrew Fredrick Jones (1997) explores the role of music in nation-building at the beginning of the twentieth century in China. Sheeran (1997) discusses the practise of a new local music form in colonial Sri Lanka. Bigenho (1998) analyses Bolivian performances to show that local identity is defined as much by local interaction though music, as by interaction with the outside world. Light (1998) studies the Uyghurs in western China who edited their music into a consolidated tradition to create an ethnic identity. Juluri (1999) investigates the consequence of the introduction of satellite television into India, with a commercial emphasis on Indian programmes. Sutton (1982) writes about the cheap and easily produced cassette technology as catering for minority expression in Indonesian music.

Most of the music studied remains largely localised within the same nation, and remains identified with an ethnic minority when it migrates to other parts of the world. Zheng music is rather unique in this regard in that the Chinese are a majority in more than one Asian country, particularly Taiwan and Singapore. Zheng music is practised actively here, and large-scale interactions among these countries, facilitated by modern transport and electronic media, tend to be the norm.

Zheng music

There are a few theses on zheng music in English, and a large number of publications in Chinese. Koegel (1991) writes on the diasporic Chinese music performances in England, and includes an analysis of my own zheng performance during my stay in Cambridge. Kwok (1987) compares transcriptions of the same piece of zheng music played by seven zheng musicians, highlighting the differences. Cheng (1991) explores the change of zheng music on the Mainland before and after the Cultural Revolution, and deplores the fact that zheng musicians in Taiwan were "following blindly" everything there, by which he means they follow closely the repertory and style of Mainland zheng music. Both Cheng and Chen Yan-zhi (1991) give an analysis of the instrument construction, fingering techniques and styles of the various zheng schools. Cheng, Chen Yan-zhi and Rault-Leyrat (1987), in French, also discussed the historical development of zheng up to its present form.

There is a large body of literature in Chinese on zheng music. Many of these sources will be referred to in later sections. Here, I review the overall nature of this literature. It may be broadly divided into four groups: scores, activities, history and

biography.

Zheng scores often include both scores and explanations on fingering techniques. Most of the zheng scores used today were composed or arranged in the twentieth century. Many have been published on the Mainland (e.g. Li Meng 1995; Guo 1997), Taiwan (e.g. Wei 1991; Shih 1996), Malaysia (e.g. Peng and Chen 1979; He and Sun 1992) and Singapore (e.g. Lian 1997). Writings on zheng music activities include descriptions of zheng classes, concerts and competitions. Writings on zheng history include evolution of instrument construction, music activities in ancient China, and poems on zheng music. Biographies include lives of famous and ordinary zheng musicians, and often touch on social events over the past few decades during, which globalisation had been particularly rapid. By far the most prolific writings on these topics are found in zheng journals and conference proceedings.[15] These writings tend to heap praise on famous musicians, and those written on the Mainland often interpret their achievements in communist terms. The later writings also have a tendency to repeat some of the contents of the earlier ones. Even so, they are valuable in providing data on trends in zheng music development, which could be correlated with major changes in the society. These data can still be discerned amidst the praises of achievements. One important event was the change from sixteen to twenty-one stringed zheng. Another was the appointment of famous street musicians to music conservatories. A third was the large increase in zheng activities over the past few decades. These represented different stages in the modernisation of zheng music.

[15] E.g. *Qin Zheng* 秦箏 (1983-); *Zhongguo Guzheng Yishu Xueshu Jiaoliuhui Wenj* 中国古箏艺术学术交流会文集 (1988); *Qinzheng Lunwen Yantaohui* 琴箏论文研讨会(1983).

Another source of materials related to zheng music is writings on Chinese music in general. There are many Chinese publications on the ancient Chinese music (e.g. Yang 1981; Cai 1995), which often contain large amount of detail extracted from historical Chinese sources related to music. Also significant, though less emphasised, are writings on popular myths or legends about Chinese music (Cui and Li 1998). Although these are usually exaggerated and supernatural stories about ancient Chinese music, the average Chinese is likely to know more about these than the factual, scholarly works, because they could be used in children's books. There are also a significant number of English publications on ancient Chinese music (e.g. Sachs 1973b; Picken 1981; DeWoskin 1982). Two of them have some relevance to this thesis: Levis (1963) attempts to discover a Chinese music theory based on the rules of ancient poems, and Sachs (1973a) discusses the weak rhythm in Chinese music. In section 3.3.4, it will be explained that poems are often used for musical interpretation, and rhythm is not weak but simply varied to provide an additional dimension of expression. Zheng music is often adapted from the repertory of other Chinese musical instruments. *Qin* music is a favourite source of melodies. There appears to be some superficial similarity in the shape of these two zithers, and in their parallel development by scholars throughout the ancient history of China. Many of the concepts of aesthetics for zheng music have been taken from *qin* music, which itself has a large body of literature, dating back to ancient China. One comprehensive source in English on *qin* music and history is a book by Liang Mingyue (1985). Others include Addiss, Dewoskin and Clark (1999) and Evans (1999). When borrowing music from other Chinese instruments, materials most easily available and most compatible are assimilated for individual use. Such borrowing is a precursor to

the large scale Westernisation in more recent decades.

1.4 Methodology

Seeger (1992:88) proposes that the ideal ethnography of music should be a comprehensive study of everything on a topic related to music, including non-musical aspects. This is similar to Appadurai's idea (1996:178) that ethnography should include a study on the production of locality, and not a mere record of the physical objects that make up locality. One aspect of ethnography of music would be a study of interactions between people through music, together with all other related issues. These include interactions between musicians and audience, teacher and student, as well as individual musicians and their social conditions.

One of the current trends in ethnomusicology is the study of the globalisation of music (Erlmann 1993). Ethnomusicology started as comparative musicology (Bohlman 1992:120) which studies music of non-Western cultures. It gradually shifted to include an anthropological perspective, with emphasis on the relation between music and culture (Merriam 1964). At the same time, it moved from the study of non-Western music to the study of all music (Merriam 1969:221), and from armchair analysis to emphasis on fieldwork. This development is closely related to the increasing rate of globalisation in the past few decades. The time-space compression (Harvey 1989:240) brings home knowledge about culture of faraway lands, making it increasingly obvious that continued distinction between Western and non-Western music is eurocentric (Hall 1992a:276), and exclusion of the perspective of the culture whose music is studied is biased (e.g. Blacking 1973:11; Nettl 1983; Hood 1960). As the impact of globalisation on music becomes

apparent, more research is carried out on the subject. Various aspects have been studied, such as the function of music in the production of identity and locality (e.g. Sugarman 1999), music change (e.g. Scruggs 1999), and the influence of nationalism on music in the same locality (e.g. Davis 1997). While providing insight into the process, such studies establish only correlation, not cause and effect. In order to demonstrate that changes in music are indeed caused by changes in locality, it is necessary to make both terms variables (Goldenberg 1997:212). That is, we need to show that if the same music were developed in a different locality, then a different change would take place. In this thesis, we are able to address this gap in the literature by studying the changes in zheng music in both Taiwan and Singapore.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the history and modern development of zheng music in Mainland China. Although change had been the norm even before the twentieth century, the globalisation over the past few decades has resulted in rapid changes in zheng music, which are shown to be closely related to the periods of political change. In particular, the change from sixteen to twenty-one strings in the twentieth century has been stimulated by increased complexity in repertory and speeded up by advances in modern technology. Chapter 3 discusses the development of zheng music in Taiwan. An overview of early Taiwanese history is given to provide the background on culture and ethnic composition. Development since the 1949 mass migration from the Mainland is shown to be strongly influenced by the interaction between ethnicity and nationalism, as well as the emergence of the modern economy. Chapter 4 discusses zheng music development in Singapore. It shows that differences in history and geography, and in the interaction between ethnicity and nationalism, resulted in significant differences from the

zheng music in Taiwan. In Chapter 5, the differences between traditional zheng schools and personal styles of modern zheng masters are discussed. Chapter 6 concludes with a discussion on the role of zheng music not only in the production of place, but also in the production of ethnicity and nationalism.

Chapter 2

Zheng Music in Mainland China

2.1 Overview

An important theme of this thesis is on how the differences in zheng music in Singapore and Taiwan may be understood in terms of the interaction between ethnicity and nationalism. Ethnicity is manifested as ethnic identity, the feeling of sameness and the sense of belonging, of the Chinese society in these two countries with that of the Han society on the Mainland,[1] the country of origin from which they or their early generations have migrated. In zheng music, this ethnic identity is maintained through contacts of the zheng performers in Singapore and Taiwan with the zheng music on the Mainland. These contacts can be through books and music notations, films, recordings and television, invitation of zheng musicians from the Mainland to come to perform and teach, and travels to the Mainland to learn from the masters. The deference to Mainland zheng music as the authority is apparent in both countries from interviews with zheng musicians, even though they may be said, to some extent, to have developed their own musical styles. In order to understand what characterises the ethnic identity of the Chinese populations in these two countries, it is necessary to review the background of

[1] In Mainland China, the predominant ethnic group is the Han Chinese. The ethnic minorities make up less than 7% of the total population of just over one billion (Worden, Savada and Dolan 1987). The Han Chinese are in turn subdivided into numerous ethnic groups, such as Chaozhou, Kejia 客家, Guangdong, etc that speak mutually unintelligible dialects. Music of ethnic minorities is interesting (e.g. Schimmelpenninck 1997; Light 1998) and has inspired a number modern compositions in Chinese music. However, it is outside the scope of this thesis, so the issue of ethnic minorities will not be discussed further. The word "Chinese" used in this thesis would refer to Han Chinese unless otherwise specified. Henceforth, Mainland China will be referred to as "the Mainland".

zheng music on the Mainland.

In this chapter, issues relating to the Mainland that are of direct relevance to zheng music in Singapore and Taiwan will be discussed. These issues include the history of China, Chinese music in general, the history of zheng music, and zheng music in its modern form. They are significant not only because of their relevance to the music, but also because of the importance attached to them by zheng performers. In section 2.2, a very brief introduction to the history of China is given. This provides the background for classical Chinese literature, such as poetry of the Tang dynasty, which is still widely read today and often provides the vocabulary and concepts for describing and understanding zheng music. Section 2.3 gives an overview of Chinese music. Chinese music is very diverse, and zheng music borrows much from other genres. In section 2.4 the history of zheng music is discussed. This is important to zheng musicians in confirming the ancient origin of the zheng instrument. The knowledge of origins has been thought to be a main contributor to a sense of ethnic identity (Roosens 1994), and its importance to zheng musicians is apparent from their many writings on the origin of the zheng in China (e.g. Hon 1982; Zhou Yanjia 1992). Section 2.5 discusses the modern development of zheng music. Zheng music in its modern form is largely a tradition invented over a few decades from around 1950s, initially motivated by the Communist government. It comprises, among others, what is essentially a new instrument, new compositions, new musical styles, a Westernised repertory, and an increasing emphasis on virtuosity. It is in this form that the music is most commonly sought after by zheng musicians from Singapore and Taiwan, although the older, regional forms still exist. A study of this development in the twentieth century provides insight into the change of zheng music. This influence on

zheng music by political development is an important example of the interaction between ethnicity and nationalism. The development of zheng music in Singapore and Taiwan provides two other cases that are studied in this thesis.

2.2 History of China

Overview

This section gives a brief summary of the ethnic narrative, a set of knowledge about the history and tradition of China that is often transmitted to the zheng students in one way or another along with zheng music. Chinese history includes some knowledge of the periodisation of Chinese history, events in specific periods of history, literary writings through the ages, historical anecdotes and myths, etc. There are many of publications on the history of China, and in the following, the data are extracted largely from Li Dun (1978), Worden, Savada and Dolan (1987) and Morton (1995).

Geography features prominently, both in military expansions in Chinese history, and in the distinction of regional styles of zheng music. A map of China is shown in map 1. At the centre of China is a province called Xi'an. Zheng is believed to have originated from this region (e.g. Zhou Yanjia 1992) during or before the Warring States period (475-221 B.C).[2] In the Warring States period, the central region of China was divided into a number of kingdoms that were often at war. Confucius,[3] who, "more than any other single man formed the thought of China", (Morton 1995:33) lived shortly before in the

[2] The reason for this belief is due to the numerous references made in ancient Chinese writings. The earliest and most commonly quoted is a description of zheng music in *Shiji* 史记, attributed to Li Si 李斯, a minister in the Kingdom of Qin. Others include numerous ancient poems and literary texts that often referred to zheng as *Qin zheng* (zheng of the Kingdom of Qin), and zheng music as *qin sheng* 秦声 (sound of the Kingdom of Qin). (Jiao Wenbin 1992)

Spring and Autumn period 春秋战国时代 (770-476 B.C). The moral values and social ethics attributed to Confucius are still widely studied and practised today. They formed an important part of the school curriculum in Taiwan since 1949 (Davison and Reed 1999:35), and quotations from the *Analects* (Waley 1938), a book attributed to Confucius, are frequently printed on posters displayed on the walls of schools in Taiwan and Singapore and in underground train stations in Singapore. The following, extracted from the *Analects*, gives an idea of the manners advocated that still form an important guide to social behaviour:

> The master said, to learn and at due times to repeat what one has learnt, is that not after all a pleasure? That friend should come to one from afar, is this not after all delightful? To remain unsoured even though one's merits are unrecognised by others, is that not after all what is expected of a gentlemen? (Waley 1938:83)

While it is not likely that every Chinese in Singapore and Taiwan would be able to quote this, or behave accordingly even if he could, such concepts about what constitutes good social behaviour have become part of the Chinese culture, and inevitably influence the interaction among zheng musicians in Singapore and Taiwan.[4]

Kingdom of Qin

Xi'an was occupied by the Kingdom of Qin 秦国 during the Warring States period. For this reason, zheng is also called Qin zheng, where Qin here refers to the Kingdom of

[4] Confucius 551-479 B.C. (Worden, Savada and Dolan 1987)

Qin, not the musical instrument *qin*. As zheng is believed to have such an ancient origin, it is also commonly called *guzheng* 古箏, where *gu* means ancient. All the other kingdoms were eventually conquered by the Kingdom of Qin, which then unified China and founded the Qin dynasty (221-207 B.C.). Despite the reputed ruthlessness and burning of many books, the Qin dynasty made at least three achievements that became central to the concept of Chinese ethnicity until today: the Great Wall, the unified written script, and the unified China. While the Great Wall is today an ethnic symbol rather than a defence against barbarian tribes, the Chinese written script served as a key medium for the production of ethnic identity, in a similar way to the print capitalism which Anderson (1983) has argued to have contributed significantly to Western nationalism. This is not to say that it is always successful in fostering harmony among the Chinese people. In nineteenth century Taiwan, for instance, the Chaozhou and Kejia ethnic groups were at war (Eto 1963:47); and at around the same period in Singapore, there were often conflicts between them (Lepoer 1989:A Cosmopolitan Community). In times of peace, however, such as today, the common written script does contribute significantly to a unified ethnic identity, not only in improving mutual understanding, but in fostering the feeling of sameness. The concept of a unified China is maintained to a large extent over the 2000 years, except for brief periods when China was divided up again. Today, the place of origin of the Chinese people, whether living on the Mainland or overseas, still exists, albeit much expanded in size to include historically foreign territories such as Manchuria 滿洲, Mongolia 蒙古, Xinjiang 新疆 and Tibet 西藏. This could be a reason why the concept

[1] Confucianism is one of the ancient schools of thought, which is still influencing Chinese culture today. A few others, such as Taoism and Buddhism, are also important. (e.g. Sommer 1995)

of Chinese ethnicity remains strong among overseas Chinese, as in Singapore and Taiwan Roosens (1994), for instance, has argued that a common place of origin is a key defining characteristic of an ethnic group.[5]

Literature and Art

Since the Qin dynasty, China was ruled by a series of dynasties, each typically lasting from a few decades to a few hundred years, until 1911. Within each dynasty, China was ruled by an emperor, who typically transferred his throne to his son when he died. The Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) began a rudimentary system of examination to select able men for imperial administration. The system developed into full operation in the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-907), based on Confucian and related scholarly studies. This was to have far-reaching consequences on the Chinese culture. One is the importance placed on education by Chinese parents, which still remains the case today. Another is the intensive development of literary works, leading to large amount of scholarly writings through the dynasties. Of these, the Tang poetry (e.g. Waley 1946) is one of the most widely read and taught in schools today, in both Singapore and Taiwan, and is also used frequently in describing and interpreting zheng music. Other dynasties also produced poetry that is still popular today, such as the Song dynasty (A.D. 960-1279), another productive period. In the Song dynasty, landscape painting is another art form that flourished. Mountains and water are recurring themes. The following analysis by Sickman and Soper (1956:211) on Chinese landscape painting could have been said by a zheng teacher analysing zheng music to his/ her students:

[5] While the integrity of the country of origin may contribute significantly to ethnic identity, it is not always necessary, as in the case of the Jews.

> ... there is a unique element of the theme unfolding and developing in much the same way, and, incidentally, with much the same mechanics, as a theme is developed in poetry ... It is possible sympathetically to view a landscape scroll without becoming part of it and entering into the artists' world of peaks and streams.

It is therefore not surprising that the ideas and vocabulary of Chinese poetry and landscape painting are used widely in zheng music.

The subsequent periods of Ming (A.D. 1368-1644) and Qing dynasties (A.D. 1644-1911) are also well known for the literary and artistic works produced. It is interesting to note that both the Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1279-1368) which preceded the dynasties of Ming and Qing, are historically considered to be invasion by "foreign tribes" These foreign tribes are respectively the Mongolians and the Manchurians. Mongolians are from Mongolia, of which Inner Mongolia is now part of China. The Manchurians are from the provinces of Liaoning 辽宁, Jilin 吉林 and Heilongjiang 黑龙江, all of which are now part of China, as can be seen in map1.

Twentieth Century

The final years of the Qing dynasty were marked by foreign powers, including Japan, the United States, and European nations, occupying parts of China. In 1911, the Qing dynasty officially came to an end with the founding of the Republic of China by the Nationalist party. From the start, the republic was more in name than in fact. The Nationalist government had to contend with, among other problems, the local warlords, the growing Communist party, the Sino-Japanese war (ca. 1931-1945), and famine. During this period, musical activities in all their genres continued where possible (see

Schimmelpenninck 1990; Jones, Stephen 1995). This period saw the growth of a number of young zheng musicians, including Liang Tsaip'ing and Cao Zheng 曹正, Guo Ying 郭鷹 who became very famous in later years, and whose musical styles had a major impact on zheng music today. In 1949, the Mainland, which usually means China apart from Taiwan, came under the rule of the Communist government. Some zheng musicians, such as Liang Tsaip'ing, migrated to Taiwan and pioneered their unique musical styles. Zheng musicians who stayed came under the compulsory influence of the ideology of the Chinese Communist Party, in which "all the arts should become a component part of the revolutionary machinery" (McDougall 1980:50). Zheng music, like all other Chinese music, composed during this period was largely revolutionary in theme, in the sense that the pieces titles and commentaries that support the communist cause. However, the way that it was done, for instance combining folk songs and Western techniques, has produced numerous pieces with innovative styles that eventually came to be widely practised in Singapore and Taiwan. This relative ease of transfer from a revolutionary to a non-revolutionary role is a manifestation of the arbitrariness with which meanings are assigned to Chinese music in general. Musical activities were partially suppressed during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), but resumed after that in ways that allowed more expression and were less restricted to revolutionary themes. The history of China provides the context that is important in the production of a sense of ethnic identity for the Chinese societies in Singapore and Taiwan.[6] Zheng musicians are often interested in seeking out

[6] In Singapore, the history of China is taught – in English – in secondary schools for two years at about the age of thirteen or fourteen, as part of world history, which is in turn part of a total of seven to ten other subjects. In Taiwan, the history of China is taught– in Mandarin Chinese – in secondary schools for six years from the age of thirteen to eighteen, as a subject on its own, and is also part of a total of seven to ten her subjects.

the parts of history that are relevant to zheng music. Myths and facts about Chinese history are abundantly portrayed both in the mass media for entertainment, and in zheng music for interpretations. Such myths essentially constitute an invented tradition (Hobsbawm 1983), and the myths would often contribute just as significantly to ethnic identity as facts. Thus, the very practise of zheng music could contribute to the production of this identity.

2.3 Chinese Music

The previous section gives a brief summary of the ethnic narrative. Some of older zheng teachers would often emphasise, directly or indirectly, the importance of an appreciation of this ethnic narrative in order to improve expression in zheng performances. This section provides an overview of Chinese music (Thrasher, *et al* 2001), of which zheng music is one example. This will help in the understanding of zheng music, whose repertory includes numerous pieces adapted over the past few decades from folk songs and music of other Chinese instruments. This is a result of frequent exchanges among Chinese music of different genres.

Folk Songs

Stephen Jones (1995:5) describes the way that Chinese musicologists have classified Chinese music into folk-song, opera, narrative singing and instrumental music. This will suffice for the present discussion as a summary of Chinese music in general. Folksongs have been discussed in much detail by Schimmelpenninck (1997). They are often sung in the villages and farms, and are used to express feelings and emotions more

freely than in normal conversations. According to Schimmelpenninck, the expressiveness that is enhanced by song texts is the main reason leading to their suppression, editing and censoring, by the Communist government until after the Cultural Revolution. During the period from about 1950 to 1976, the folk songs approved by the authorities were those that expressed revolutionary zeal. An important aspect of Chinese musicology is the collection of folk songs, organised on a very large scale. A number of zheng music scores and albums carry commentaries which indicate that some of the pieces are adapted from folk songs collected personally by the zheng musicians. Some of zheng pieces have the same titles and melodies as folk songs, albeit with much ornamentation and fingering techniques added.

Peking Opera

Chinese opera has many regional forms, of which Peking opera is one of the most internationally publicised, due in part to the effort of the Nationalist government in Taiwan to promote themselves as the bearer of the "true" Chinese culture since 1949 (Guy 1999). It involves players wearing costumes and thick makeup on the stage, singing with special techniques of intonation to exaggerate vocal nuances (e.g. Liang Mingyue 1985:230; Lu Guang 1997; Liu Han-ching 1999). Of interest to zheng music is the fact that for expression in certain pieces, some zheng teachers would instruct the student to use a combination of *yinyin* 吟音 [vibrato],[7] *rouyin* 揉音 [deep vibrato], *anyin* 按音 [pressed note], and *huayin* 滑音 [slide] to mimic the human voice in a way that is similar to intonations used in Chinese opera. These techniques will be explained in

[7] The same technique can have different name (see Appendix B).

section 2.5.2 and Appendix B. Mimicking operatic intonations would often involve allowing the pitch to move smoothly and gradually from one note to another, in a similar way to the human voice in a tonal language, such as Chinese. Chinese song melodies, from which many zheng pieces are adapted, are intimately related to the tonal inflexions of words in the lyrics, and composers must often match them in a way that sounds "natural" to the Chinese ear (Levis 1963; Yang 1988).

Chinese Instruments

There is a large variety of Chinese musical instruments. Some of the most commonly used are *dizi* bamboo flute], *erhu* [two-stringed fiddle], *yangqin* 扬琴 [hammered dulcimer], *pipa* [Chinese lute] and zheng. There is in depth discussion on some of these instruments, such as Lau (1996) on *dizi*, Stock (1996) on *erhu*, Cheng (1991) and Chen (1991) on zheng. As mentioned earlier, music of different instruments are often adapted for one another. For zheng musicians, however, their important borrowing, not only of repertory but also of musical concepts and styles, comes from an instrument, the *qin* (Lam 1993; Liang Mingyue 1985:197). Like Liang Tsaip'ing, particularly, strong emphasis on understanding of *qin* music. Not only there are a significant number of *qin* pieces adapted for the zheng, but also zheng music borrowed strongly the concept of *yijing* 意境 from *qin* music. *Yijing* is a way of musical expression in which expression is related to the imagination and other art forms (Yip 1991:13). This is a deep and difficult concept, and much had been written on it in ancient China (Liang

Mingyue 1985:176;[8] Huang Yi-Ping 1998:3-43). Zheng musicians would often borrow its ideas, and form their own methods of interpretation.

Tempo

Traditionally, Chinese music takes a liberal view of tempo. Tempo can be varied with a large degree of freedom, if the musical expression so requires. The reason is that music is thought to be intimately related to speech and thought (Du 1995:1).[9] It is important to note that to give appropriate expression to the music the variation of tempo has to be controlled correctly, which may take years of training, and it is not just a matter of weak rhythm as some Western observers may think (e.g. Sachs 1973a:57).[10] This variable tempo is apparent, for example, in the recordings of Liang Tsaip'ing, from the early period of zheng music in Taiwan. Zheng musicians today are often trained in or familiar with Western music, and tend to keep time more metronomically in their performances. Apart from flexible tempo, the pitch of a note is another aspect of Chinese music that could be given much variation. Some Taiwanese interviewees would agree that Liang's rendition is masterly, with very good *yunwei* 韵味 [feeling]. This refers to the use of microtones refers to the continuous movement from one note to another, often with the freedom to stay for some time in between notes. The rationale behind this is similar to that of flexible tempo, to draw on similarity to speech and to provide additional dimensions of expression.

[8] This reference contains a discussion of intuition, imagination and symbolism in Chinese music, which is essentially what *yijing* is about, though the word *yijing* is not used.
[9] There is a kind of song in Western music, called Aria di Carattere, which is part of an eighteenth century operatic style that originated from Naples. It is closely related to a story, and often has the word *parlando* in the scores, which means "as if speaking." (Holst 1988:123).
[10] A purely irregular or random rhythm would sound terrible to the Chinese musician.

2.4 Zheng Music History

2.4.1 Transmission and Change

This section is on the history of zheng music before the twentieth century and provides an overview on how zheng music has changed over more than two thousand years. The change in construction of the zheng instrument and the spread of zheng music to different regions of China are discussed.

The Instrument

A pictorial view of the change in instrument shape and size over history is given here. Cheng (1991) and Chen (1991) have given accounts of this change in detail. It suffices here to say that the general shape of the zheng had remained fairly similar, the more obvious changes being the increase in size and string number. It could have started with as few as five strings during or before the Warring States period, finally reaching the twenty-one or more strings today. At any one time, zhengs with different string numbers might have existed together and been in use in different parts of China. The reason for highlighting the change in the number of strings is because the jump in string number from sixteen to twenty-one, which occurred within a few decades, is one of the most significant events in zheng music in the twentieth century. It brought with it rapid changes in repertory, techniques and musical styles. This is explained in more detail in sections 2.5 and 2.6. The zheng has continually evolved, possibly to meet the needs of its musicians and audiences for richer and more complex pieces.

Most information on historical zheng development was obtained from classical Chinese texts, such as those referenced in Cheng (1991) and Chen (1991). In recent

years, a small number of zhengs had been excavated from archaeological sites on the Mainland, and had been dated to as early as around the late the Spring and Autumn Period or the early Warring States Period. Photos 2 (a and b) show two *se's* which look similar to the modern zheng, apart from differences in the bridge positions. Photo 2 (c) shows that zheng with thirteen strings was already in use more than two thousand years ago.

That the thirteen stringed zheng was still being used in the early twentieth century despite the fact that other string numbers were present, seems to show that any increase in the string number had been slow. Hence the increase to twenty-one strings in the second half of the twentieth century, which replaced other string numbers on a large scale, is very significant. Photo 2 (d) shows the fourteen stringed zheng in Qing dynasty. Photos 2 (e to h) are sixteen to twenty-one stringed zhengs made and were popular in Taiwan.

Photos 2 (i and j) are respectively twenty-one stringed Chaozhou zheng and twenty-three stringed, S shaped bridge zheng.[11] It is interesting to note that Liang Tsaip'ing had often claimed that the sixteen stringed zheng was the only authentic zheng instrument. For thirty years it did seem to many zheng musicians in Taiwan that it was, until the appearance of the twenty-one stringed zheng from the Mainland.[12] This was in stark contrast with the much larger and sophisticated zhengs shown in photos 2 (h to n). As early as in the 1960s, Mainland zheng musicians were already experimenting with these zhengs, which could have as many as thirty to forty strings. It is possible to change

[11] It was made by *Fuzhou national musical instruments Co., Ltd* 福州民族乐器有限公司 in the Mainland, which was set up by Taiwanese company *Zhonghua Yueqi* 中华乐器 [Zhonghua musical instrument] since 1992. According to its director, this was in order to lower production costs.

[12] Liang was certainly aware of the historical changes in string numbers, as he had written about this in his publication (Liang Tsaip'ing 1986). Nevertheless, he held firmly to his claim that the sixteen-stringed instrument was the only "real" zheng.

key in these zhengs, by simply stepping on some pedals. However, they did not become as popular as the twenty-one stringed zheng.

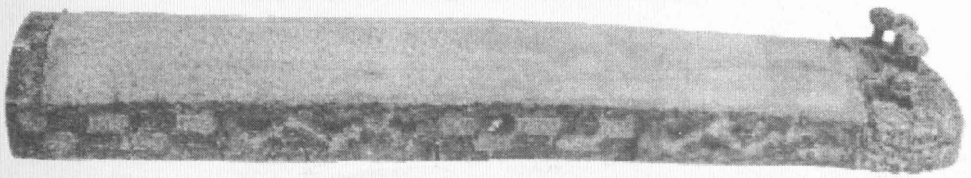

Photo2. (a) *Se*

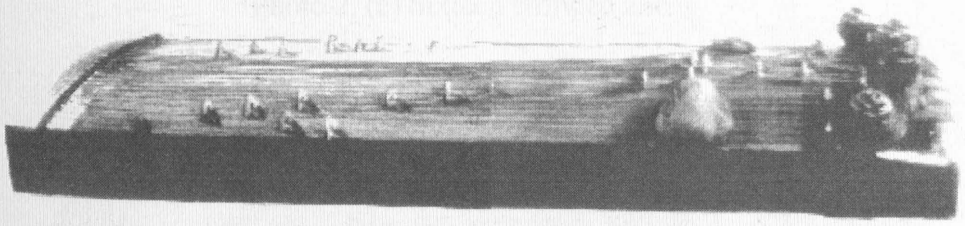

Photo2. (b) *Se*[13]

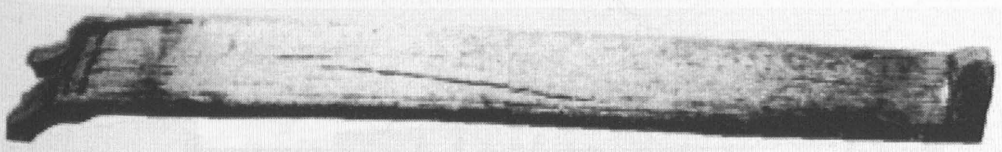

Photo 2. (c) Thirteen stringed, wooden zheng [14]

[13] *Se* (a) was from around the late the Spring and Autumn Period or the early Warring States Period, excavated from the grave of Zeng Houyi 曾侯乙墓 in Hubei 湖北. *Se* (b) was from around the Han Dynasty, excavated from the grave of Ma Wangdui 马王堆 in Changsha 长沙, Hunan 湖南 (Liu Dongsheng 1992:198).

[14] *Shisanxian Muqin* 十三弦木琴 [thirteen stringed, wooden zheng], in the Spring and Warring States Period, excavated from the Xianyan 仙岩, Guixi County 贵溪县, Jiangxi 江西 (Liu Dongsheng 1992:200).

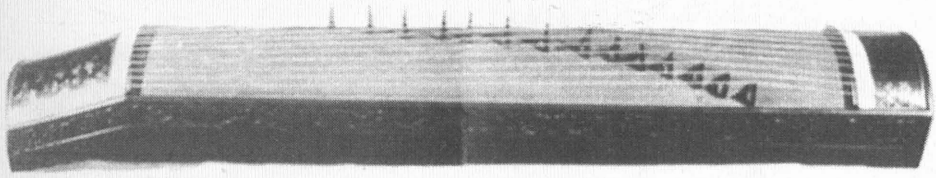

Photo 2. (d) Fourteen stringed zheng[15]

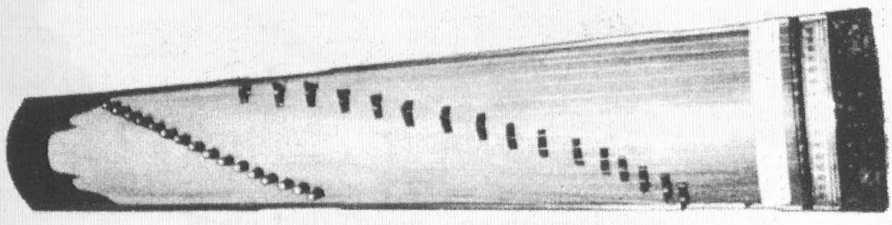

Photo 2. (e) Sixteen stringed zheng[16]

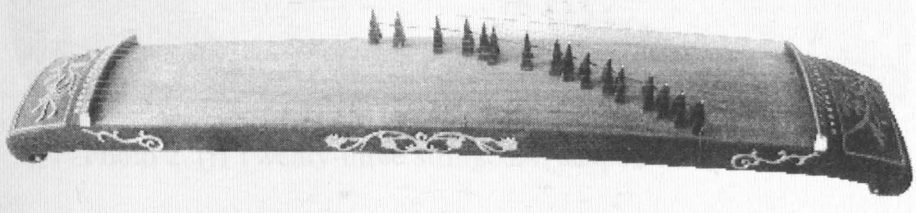

Photo 2. (f) Sixteen stringed zheng [17]

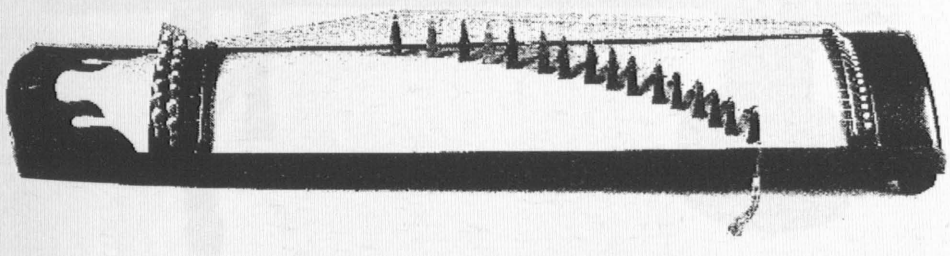

Photo 2. (g) Sixteen stringed zheng

[15] This is the Qing Dynasty zheng owned by a professor, Yang Dajun 杨大钧, at the China Music Conservatory (Liu Dongsheng 1992:200).
[16] (Huang Tsungshih 1982: 29)
[17] The zheng was made in Taiwan in 1980s (Photo taken by the author in 2003).

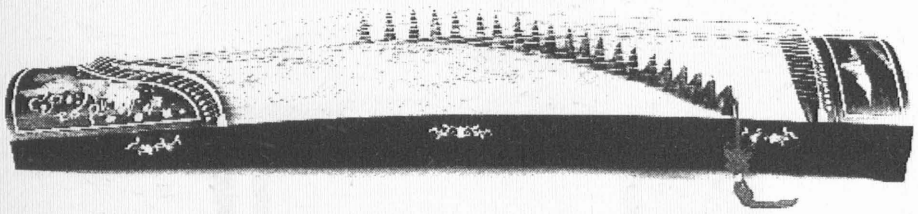

Photo 2. (h) Twenty-one stringed, S shaped bridge zheng[18]

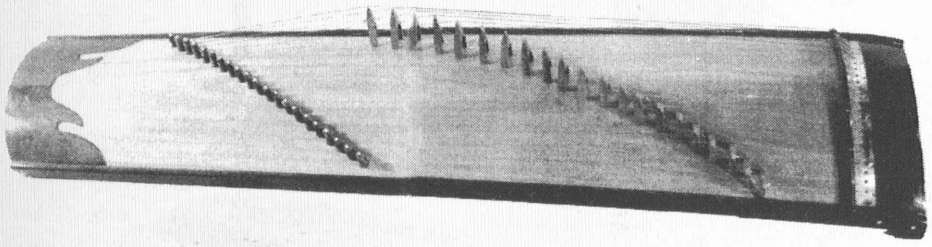

Photo 2. (i) Twenty-one stringed zheng [19]

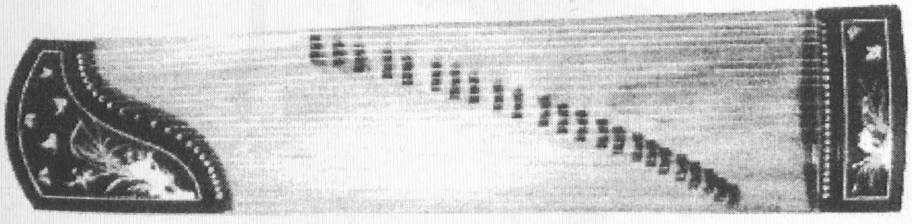

Photo 2. (j) Twenty-three stringed, S shaped bridge zheng[20]

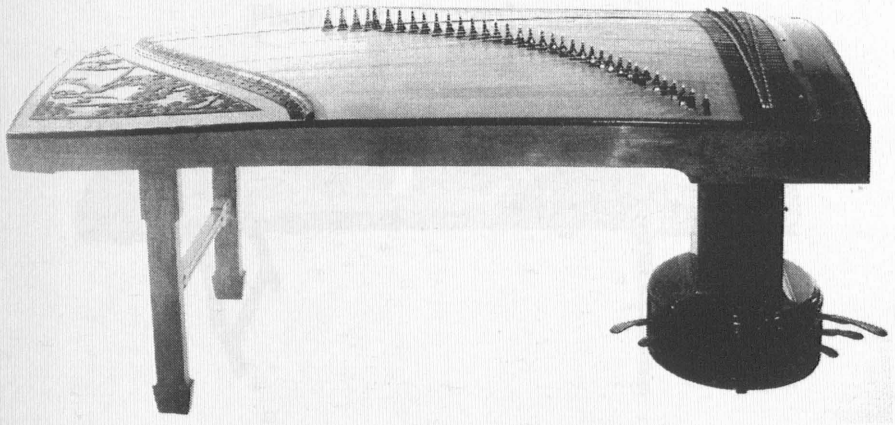

Photo 2. (k) The "cut-off string" modulated zheng [21]

[18] The zhengs in photo 2 (g and h) were made by *Hongsheng Guoyueqi Gongyishe* 宏声国乐器工艺社 [Hongsheng national musical instruments factory], Taiwan. (photos taken by the factory).
[19] This is Chaozhou zheng and is popular in Guangdong area today (Liu Dongsheng 1992:204)
[20] This photo was taken by the instrument factory.

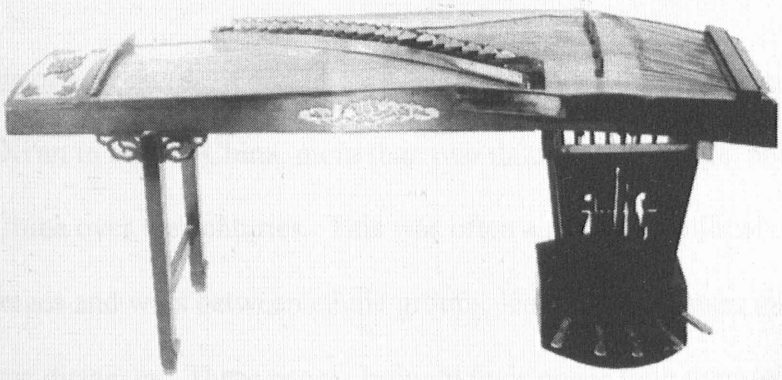

Photo 2. (l) The movable bridge modulated zheng [22]

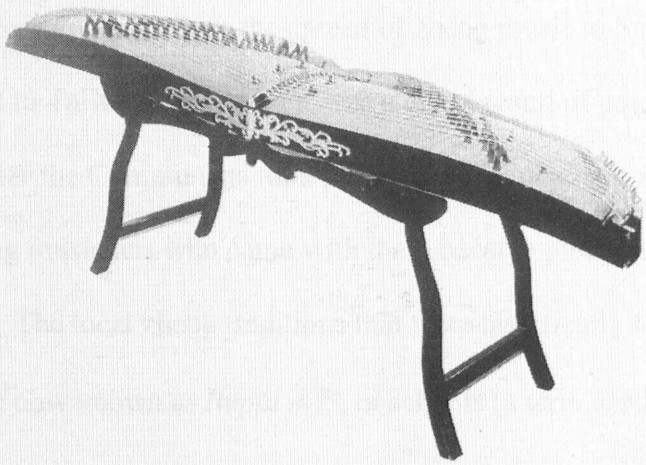

Photo 2. (m) Butterfly zheng [23]

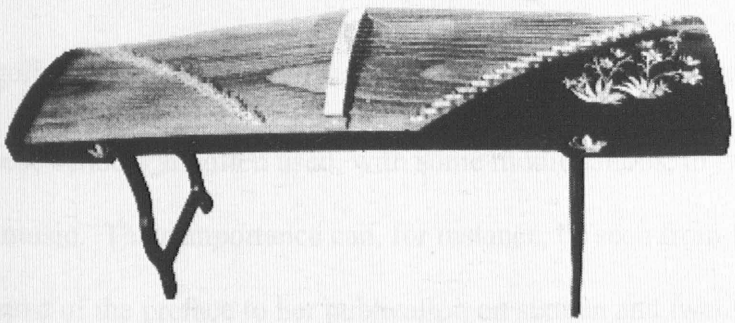

Photo 2. (n) The new model of modulated zheng [24]

[21] *Jiexian Zhuandiaozheng* 截弦转调箏 [The "cut-off string" modulated zheng], made by the Suzhou musical instrument factory (Liu Dongsheng 1992:204)

[22] *Yizhu Zhuandiaozheng* 移柱转调箏 [The movable bridge modulated zheng], made in Shenyang Music Conservatory. (Liu Dongsheng 1992:206)

Transmission

From historical records, it would appear that the zheng originated in a small region around Xi'an in central China, more than two thousand years ago, and spread to other parts of China over the centuries. This was often a result of political upheaval such as dynastic changes and wars between ethnic groups, leading to the mass migration of people over large distances. These people brought their music with them when they settled down in a new place. Over history, the music of the diaspora evolved into local music. This is not very different from the spread of zheng music to Singapore and Taiwan. The spread to Taiwan, for instance, was a direct result of political changes and mass migration. After the Communists took power, the Nationalist government retreated to Taiwan, and zheng musicians who came with them became pioneers of the zheng tradition in Taiwan. The local zheng traditions that were historically formed in different regions of China are now known as *liupai* 流派, or schools (a term used for artistic schools in general), each having its own distinctive musical style. There are many zheng schools, including Shandong 山东, Henan, Kejia , Chaozhou, Zhejiang, Minnan 闽南, Qinzheng, Menggu (Mongolian), Chaoxian 朝鲜, etc. Today, the techniques and repertory developed in these schools are often used, with some modifications, in twenty-one stringed zheng music. Their importance can, for instance, be seen from the fact that Hon Seewah spent most of the preface to her publication on sixteen and twenty-one stringed scores (Hon 1987) on the origin and characteristic features of the zheng schools. In

[23] *Dieshi zheng* 蝶式箏 [Butterfly zheng], made in Shanghai in 1978 by He Baoquan (Liu Dongsheng 1992: 208).
[24] *Xinxing Zhuandiaozheng* 新型转调箏 [The new model of modulated zheng] (Wang Tianyi 2001)

following paragraphs, a brief discussion on several of the zheng schools is given.[25] A key feature of zheng schools is their unique fingering techniques, some of which are mentioned below. The detailed explanations of the techniques are given in Appendix B.

Shandong zheng school

The zheng tradition in Shandong dated back to the Warring States. According to *Zhanguo Ce* 战国策 [Records of the Warring States]:[26] "Lin Zi is rich and prosperous,[27] and the people there can all play the *yu*, the *se*, the *zhu*[28] and the zheng". It is popular in Heze 菏泽 and Liaocheng 聊城 area. The zheng pieces are mostly derived from a set of local repertory known as *Shandong qinshu* 山东琴书. The representive pieces like *Shuyun* 书韵 [The Book Rhythm] and *Qinyun* 琴韵 [The Rhythm of the Qin]. Ornaments make frequent use of *huazhi* 花指 [grace notes],[29] *zhanyin* 颤音 [vibrato] and *huayin* [slide]. The main fingering techniques used are: for the right hand, thumb plays *pi* followed by *tuo*, index finger *mo tiao*, middle finger play melody, ring finger used to strenghten *pi*; for the left hand, *shuangpi*, *shuangmo* (with one finger to pluck two strings) and *shuanggou* enhances sound effect, and *rouyin* uses a larger interval, sometimes more than major

[25] Zheng schools have been discussed in much detail by Cheng (1991:32) and Chen Yan-zhi (1991:143).
[26] This is a classical text about the Warring States period (475-221 B.C). It was a collection of writings by various scholars over this period, so the exact date of writing is not clear. One of the earliest known references to this text was found in *Shi Ji*.
[27] Lin Zi 临淄 is an area in Shandong, the original location of the state Qi during the Warring States.
[28] *Yu* 竽 was an early and larger form of *sheng* 笙, a free reed, mouth organ made from bamboo, the ancestor of the harmonica and the accordion. *Se* 瑟, see photo 2 (a and b). *Zhu* 筑 was an early form of *yangqin*, a string instrument played by striking the strings with two bamboo strips (Thrasher 2001).
[29] The grace notes are usually descending just before the notes, and have to follow strict rhythm.

second, while *shanghuayin* is frequent and fast. Representative pieces include *Hangong Qiuyue* 汉宫秋月 [Moon in Autumn at the Palace in Han Dynasty], *Gaoshan Liushui* [High Mountain Flowing Stream].

Henan zheng school

The Henan zheng school originated from Henan province in central China. It was thought to have moved to the city of Luoyang 洛阳 in Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220A.D). Henan zheng is often played as part of a group, with other instruments, each contributing its own characteristic feature to the melody. The music is based on materials from Henan opera and Henan *dadiao* 河南大调, a form of ballad singing. It consists of a collection of traditional music known as *Zhongzhou Guqu* 中州古曲. An example of a zheng piece is *Tan Yianhui* 叹颜回 [Lament for Yan Hui]. The ornaments make frequent use of *zhanyin* and *huayin*. Fingering techniques use much *daoti zhengda* 倒踢正打[30] on the right hand, and *yaozhi* with pivot at the joint of the thumb with the palm. Melodic phrases are often syncopated at the start using the *dacuo* technique, this accentuation being related to the accent of the language spoken in Henan. The left hand uses frequent and rapid *shanghuayin* to produce a lively mood. *Zhanyin* with *youyao* produces one of the most important characteristic sound effect, creating a highly animated mood. Representative pieces include *Chen Xingyuan Luoyuan* 陈杏元落院 [Chen Xingyuan Lamenting at the Courtyard] and *Tan Yan Hui* [Lament for Yan Hui].

[30] See Appendix B (table 1).

Chaozhou zheng school

It is known that there were three major waves of migration to the south, during the periods of political upheavals in Jin dynasty, Tang dynasty and Song dynasty (Worden, Savada and Dolan 1987: Era of Disunity, Restoration of Empire; Qu 1991). These could have brought zheng music to Chaozhou, the northern region of Guangdong province. It is popular in the Shantou and Chaozhou region. Zheng music is based on the local music, called *Hanjiang Sizhu* 汉江丝竹 [Silk and Bamboo Music of River Han], which is thought to be descended from the Tang dynasty. It is distinguished by the use of unique modal scales, such as *zhongliu* 重六, *qinliu* 轻六 and *huowu* 活五, in which the *anyin* technique is used to sharpen or flatten a few of the notes during performance. In *zhongliu*, for example, the seventh is slightly flat and the fourth slightly sharp. *Qingliu* is used for moods that are lively, *zhongliu* for serious and *huowu* melancholic. A unique notation known as *ersipu* 二四谱 [Two-four notation], in which notes are represent by numbers in Chinese characters, had also been invented by the Chaozhou school (see figure 3). Zheng pieces tend to use many ornaments, which include frequent use of *huazhi*, *huayin*, *zhanyin* and *dianyin* 点音 ["point" note]. Representative piece include *Hanya Xishui* 寒鸦戏水 [Crows Playing in Water] and *Liu Qingnian* 柳青娘 [Liu Qingnian].

Kejia zheng school

Kejia music is believed to have originated from Henan 河南 and Hubei provinces during the Song Dynasty (Yuan 1986:2, 1987:134). Due to the civil wars in the around

Henan and Hubei province, the Kejia people migrated to the eastern and northern parts of Guangdong. It is popular in the Shantou 汕头 and Mei County 梅县 region. Kejia music is also called *Hanyue* 汉乐, *Handiao* 汉调, or *Waijiang* 外江 music. It was developed from Kejia silk string music. Their music gradually mixed with the local styles. The ornaments often make use of *zhanyin*, *huayin*, *rouyin* and *dianyin*. A major characteristic of the music is that there is much variation on the same theme by varying the tempo and adding of ornaments. Left hand techniques are highly emphasised. As steel strings are used, the sound effects produced by pressing with the left hand are loud, and *yunwei* is an important aspect of the musical expression. Representative piecese include *Chushuilian* 出水莲 [The Lotus] and *Jiaochuang Yeyu* 蕉窗夜雨 [Banana Tree by the Window on Rainy Night].

Zhejiang zheng school

Written records of the early history of zheng in Zhejiang province could be found in poems by scholars and writings in classical texts. It was believed to be already popular in Nanjing 南京 during the Jin dynasty (A.D. 265-420). The modern form of the zheng school was largely developed in past few decades, and may also be considered as a new school. There had been much innovation of the zheng instrument, including body and string material, leading to the twenty-one stringed zheng that is widely used today. The zheng repertory is closely related to the local Silk and Bamboo music 丝竹乐. Another source is a set of traditional pieces recorded in the ancient score *Xiansuo Shisantao* 弦索十

三套. The main performance techniques used are *yaozhi* 摇指 [tremolo] and *guazou* 刮奏 [glissando]. The tremolos are unique in that they are very long, making them a distinctive feature which has come to dominate the modern zheng music today. The glissandos are also longer compared to other zheng schools, and can last for a long section of the melody. The Zhenjiang zheng school invented the *saoyao* technique which is widely used, as well the *shuangmo* (using index fingers of both hands to pluck one string in rapid alternation – different from the Shandong school technique of the same name), *shuangcuo* and *kuaisidian*. Many new pieces have been composed using a lot of harmony and modern techniques. Representative pieces include *Haiqing Natian'e* 海青拿天鹅 [Falcon catches the Swan] and *Yue'er Gao* 月儿高 [The Moon is High].

From Appendix B, it is possible to see the unique feature for the techniques of some of the zheng schools. For example, Shandong and Henan zheng schools have *yaozhi* [tremolo], whereas Chaozhou and Kejia do not. Chaozhou and Kejia, however, have a technique called *badulun* 八度轮 [octave tremolo] (Huang Haoyin 1997:183) which applies *gou* and *tuo* on two strings an octave apart in rapid alternation. As another example, traditionally only Chaozhou zheng school uses *shayin* 煞音 [stopped note], though today this is widely used in modern zheng techniques. Each technique creates a particular sound effect, so that its presence or absence is characteristic of the style of each zheng school.

Historical context

Historical records are only able to provide correlation between political changes, mass migration and the appearance of local traditions or zheng schools in different regions of China. More detailed analysis of the repertory and behaviour of zheng musicians are seldom possible because of the lack of relevant data. Except for *qin* music historical records of musical scores of other genres of Chinese music are comparatively rare. In ancient folksongs, for instance, it was usually the lyrics that were passed down through history, not the music notations (Schimmelpenninck 1990:3).

Chinese musical connoisseurs have for many centuries commented that the zheng's sound is beautiful and emotional. The following are just two of the many examples (e.g Van Gulik 1951; Liang Tsaip'ing 1979b; *Qin Zheng* 1983-):

> Only the zheng is miraculous enough to combine the nuances of the five notes, be the leader of all sounds, and become the master of all musical instruments (Ruan Yu 阮禹 (c.a. AD 200), Wei dynasty)

> As the River Xiang melody is played on the sad zheng, every note depicts clearly the greenness of the river waves, with the slender fingers on the thirteen strings gently transmitting the sorrow. As the autumn river water flowing from the string appears to slow down, the jade-like fingers are postured over the strings like flying geese, and on reaching the saddest part of the music where intestines could break,[31] the performer lowered her brows (Yan Jidao 晏几道 (A.D. 1048-1118), Song dynasty).

[31] In the Chinese language, sadness is not only expressed by the breaking of the heart, but also of the liver and the intestines.

To know the contexts of these passages, one would need to go back to the original works However, zheng musicians today, as exemplified by writings in *Qin Zheng* (1983-), often draw on such passages for their interpretations of zheng music, without any regard to their contexts. Thus an ancient passage is applied directly to the present-day context. This practise of zheng music seems to provide some form of historical continuity, an essential contributing factor to the creation and maintenance ethnic identity.

It should be mentioned that the zheng journal, *Qin Zheng* provides one of the largest single sources of material on the history of zheng music. Although this journal tends to be biased towards communist ideology and is rather weak on references and arguments, it does collect together in much detail events, poems and biographies relating to zheng music from diverse historical sources.

2.4.2 Facts and Myths

The history of zheng music is often a mixture of facts and myths, perpetuated because people who write and read about it want to believe in them. In zheng music scores, history textbooks of Chinese music, and articles in Chinese music journals, zheng musicians and Chinese authors often like to bring in an anecdote or two about the history and origin of zheng music. One of these, for example, is about how two sisters quarrelled over a larger stringed instrument of twenty-five strings and broke it into two, one with twelve and one with thirteen strings, both of which became the zheng (Van Gulik 1951; Cheng 1991). This is supposed to explain the Chinese character for zheng 箏, which consists of *zhu* 竹 [bamboo] over *zheng* 爭 [quarrel]. Such writings provide a form of ethnic narrative, at once symbolising the existence and wholeness of a Chinese ethnic

group. The zheng masters I know from Taiwan and the Mainland often refer to the fact that zheng music is an integral part of Chinese cultural history, as a reason why they should carry on the tradition. The history of zheng, as the Chinese people perceive it, therefore forms an important part of the collective imagination of Chinese people everywhere, including Taiwan and Singapore. It plays a role not only in ensuring the continuity of zheng music, but also in the definition of Chinese ethnicity.

Historical Context

A favourite quotation often cited by zheng musicians (e.g. Cheng 1991:2; *Qin Zheng* 1993:17) is a passage from *Shiji* 史记 [The Records of the Historian]. Written during the Han dynasty, it is widely regarded as an authoritative work on Chinese history for the Warring States Period (475 BC to 221 BC). The passage is extracted from an article entitled the Biography of Li Si, a powerful minister who lived during the Warring States Period: "Beating the jar, hitting the drum, plucking the zheng, slapping the thighs and singing. These performances are pleasant to both eyes and ears. They are the true music of Qin." Qin was one of the many kingdoms during that period of history. It was located in central China around the region of Xi'an. It later rose to prominence as the kingdom that conquered all other kingdoms, united China, and started the first dynasty of China, the Qin dynasty. Li Si's passage is widely accepted as "proof" that the zheng existed more than two thousand years ago, and originated from the region of Xi'an in central China

Written records on the zheng during various periods of the past two thousand years demonstrate some form of continuity in the gradual evolution of the instrument, as

illustrated in photo 2 (b to l). There are large numbers of writings that refer to Xi'an as the place of origin of zheng.[32] This is indicative of a common acceptance of the truth of the Li Si narrative. The fact that the zheng has been around for such a long time, and that it originated from the centre of the Mainland, makes it highly desirable as a symbol of ethnicity. The long existence suggests that a sense of Chinese ethnicity is natural, despite the long history of violence (in wars, particularly during changes of dynasties – see, for example, Li Dun (1978)). Agreement with the written authority provides membership to the large Chinese ethnic group. There are a number of other anecdotes about the origin of the zheng (Cheng 1991:271), about who invented the zheng, how the name zheng came about, etc. These anecdotes, while less authoritative than the Li Si narrative, are nevertheless told with relish.[33]

Van Gulik (1951), Cheng (1991:1) and Chen (1991:12) have reviewed some of the literature on historical development of zheng music. The main points are highlighted here. In the third century, a Chinese scholar Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217 - 78) wrote an essay on the zheng. Van Gulik translated one of the passages:

> If we now observe this instrument, we notice that its upper part is concave like the vault of Heaven, its bottom flat like the Earth; that its inside is hollow so as to accommodate the six points of the compass, and that its twelve strings with their frets symbolise the twelve months of the year.

[32] As in the *Qin Zheng* magazine that carried many popular articles on zheng music history and activities.
[33] In one such anecdote (Liang Tsaiping 1979a; Wang Ruiyu 1998), the zheng came about when two sisters fought over a *se*, a much larger instrument, and broke it into two halves. Each half is then a zheng. This was also supposed to explain the origin of the character zheng, which sounds and looks similar to another character *zheng* 爭, which means to fight over.

This description matches the structure of the modern zheng fairly closely. During the Tang dynasty (618-907), zheng music flourished. There were many types of zheng, and many poems written about zheng music. The emperor Xuan Zong 玄宗 (713 - 753) cultivated a large group of musicians of all instruments, including zheng, and raised the status of musicians generally. During the Ming dynasty (1368 - 1644), a popular art form was developed in which zheng was played to accompany singing and story telling. By the time Van Gulik wrote his paper in 1951, zheng music appeared to have declined. According to him: "The *Tz'u-yuan* [词渊 Dictionary], one of the modern standard Chinese dictionaries, goes even so far as to state, sub voce *cheng* [zheng], that the art of playing this instrument now is lost completely." Later in this chapter, I shall discuss what happened to zheng music during this period, and how the subsequent popularity of zheng music is intimately related to nationalism, globalisation and the communist ideology.

From historical records, it is known that the zheng had been widely used not only as a solo instrument, as the poems and historical writings often show, but also in an ensemble with other instruments, usually to accompany operas or story telling sessions.[34] In the Sui dynasty, for instance, the zheng was widely used in the imperial court to accompany dances (Jiao Wenbin 1992). A number of archaeological excavations made in Shaanxi in the 1950's produced statues and cave paintings, dated to the Tang dynasty, showing musicians playing the zheng to accompany drama performances for the common people. In the Song dynasty, the zheng was often used with *qin* and *pipa* in brothels to accompany singing. Drama, opera and story telling, by the time of the Yuan dynasty, were highly developed, and zheng was often used as accompaniment in ensembles with

[34] Photo 3 (a to d) show the zheng activities since the Han dynasty.

other instruments.

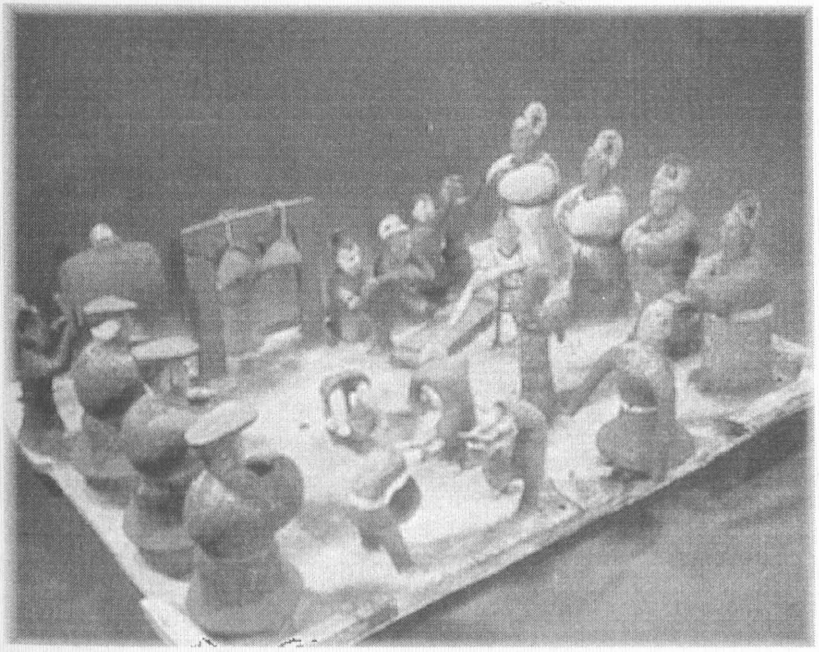

Photo 3. (a) Han dynasty porcelain sculptures of acrobat troupe and accompanying musicians [35]

Photo 3. (b) Jin dynasty drawing of musical performance[36]

[35] *Handai Zaji ji Banzou Yuedui* 汉代杂技及伴奏乐队 [Han dynasty porcelain sculptures of acrobat troupe and accompanying musicians] excavated from the Han grave of Wuying 无影, in Ji'nan, Shandong) (*Zhongguo Yinyue Cidian* 1985: Plate 11).

Photo 3. (c) Tang dynasty drawing of musical performance in the palace[37]

Photo 3. (d) Song dynasty drawing of musical performance[38]

[36] *Jindai Zouyuetu* 晋代奏乐图 [Jin dynasty drawing of musical performance], was excavated from grave in Ding Jian Zha, Jiuquan, Gansu) (*Zhongguo Yinyue Cidian* 1985: Plate 12).
[37] *Tangdai Gongyuetu* 唐代宫乐图 [Tang dynasty drawing of musical performance in the palace], was reproduced by Song dynasty artist (*Zhongguo Yinyue Cidian* 1985: Plate 17).
[38] *Songdai Zouyuetu* 宋代奏乐图 [Song dynasty drawing of musical performance], was reproduced by Chouying 仇英, Ming dynasty artist (*Zhongguo Yinyue Cidian* 1985: Plate 24).

Ancient Poems

Although the history of zheng music is available in ancient Chinese texts and satisfies modern Chinese scholars and zheng music enthusiasts on the authenticity of zheng music as a traditional Chinese art form, the rest of the Chinese populace are not generally aware of it in much detail. There is one source of ancient Chinese writing, however, which is curiously widespread, and that is ancient Chinese poems, particularly poems written during the Tang dynasty.

Liang (1979a) contains a collection of many ancient Chinese poems on zheng music.[39] Van Gulik (1951) has translated a few of them, in which he called the zheng "cither". These provide a brief insight into the perception of zheng music in Chinese culture. According the Van Gulik's translation, Shen Yue 沈约 (441 - 513) wrote:

> The cither of Ch'in gives forth unsurpassed melodies,
>
> The frets of jade make the strings produce high-pitched tunes.
>
> The strings are strung so tightly as to be nearly breaking,
>
> The melody follows her agile fingers roaming over the strings.
>
> But how can one by merely hearing the lingering echo afar-off,
>
> Divine the perfect beauty of the player?

In another poem by Bai Juyi 白局易 (772 - 846) we find:

> Formerly hearing on a spring evening the cither played at Chiu-chiang ,
>
> I did not enjoy its sad tones, for I was then still in my prime.

But since old age has covered my head with snow [white hair],

Play for me, I beseech you, till the break of dawn.

And in a poem by Ouyang Xiu (1007 - 1072) there occur the following line:

For twenty years I had not heard the sad notes of the cither,

Then suddenly her[40] slender fingers made the string resound.

Now the tones came lightly like birds twittering among the flowers,

Then there was a low murmuring sound, like streams covered with ice.

It is usually said that this music is now forgotten,

So I ask her who taught her the cither when she was still a child.

The melody finished, the guests laugh at me over their wine cups

For I, white-haired old man, have silently started to weep.

These poems often provide the context for the interpretation of modern zheng music. They emphasise the strong feelings that the zheng can evoke. It can be entertaining, soothing, nostalgic, and beautiful, depending on the occasion. Modern zheng musicians like to refer to poems like these as authority on how zheng music should be perceived. By providing modern zheng musicians with a vocabulary to describe feelings about zheng music, Tang poetry, together with poems from other periods of history, inevitably influences the perception of modern zheng students and their audience about zheng music.

[39] Such ancient poems are fairly representative, as they are still used today as an important guidance for the expression of zheng music – see section 3.3.4. Liang (1986) collected forty-four of them, though there could be more. It is not known how many there actually are.

[40] From these poems, it may appear that most zheng players in the past were women. However, this is not necessarily the case. For instance, the poets themselves, who were men, were often zheng players also. In the modern period, at least from my experience in Taiwan since 1980s, it seems that many people today are

2.5 Zheng Music: Introduction

2.5.1 The Instrument

Zheng Construction

The fact that Chinese historical records show the zheng as having retained a similar structure over two thousand years, suggests to the Chinese people that it could be a natural part of the Chinese ethnicity. Conversely, modern zheng musicians and their audience want it to be a natural part of the Chinese ethnicity. Within limits of acoustic requirements, the construction of the modern zheng takes its present form largely because modern zheng musicians and audience think that this is how it should be as an ancient instrument. The basic shape, as shown in figure 1, retains the main features in Fu Xuan's description quoted in the previous section. Decorations on various parts of the instrument follow styles of traditional Chinese furniture, paintings and calligraphy.[41] Thus, to be able to retain or enhance historical features remains an important consideration in zheng making. To facilitate subsequent discussion, I have translated the labelled parts in figure 1.

Chinese plucked instruments, such as *qin,* zheng, *pipa* and *ruan* 阮, have their main body made of *wutong* 梧桐 (paulownia) wood. In recent years in the 1990s, paulownia in Taiwan is largely used to make furniture, with less than ten percent used to make zheng. Paulownia is not produced in Singapore, which is far too small for any significant form of natural resources (Lepoer 1989:Geography). Zheng has to be

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of the opinion that zheng is a lady's instrument. It is true that most zheng students I have seen are women. Zheng teachers, however, have a larger proportion of men among them.

[41] The imitation of Tang dynasty instrument is also an important activity on the Mainland today (*Qin Zheng* 1991:24; Meng 1994).

imported, largely from the Mainland.

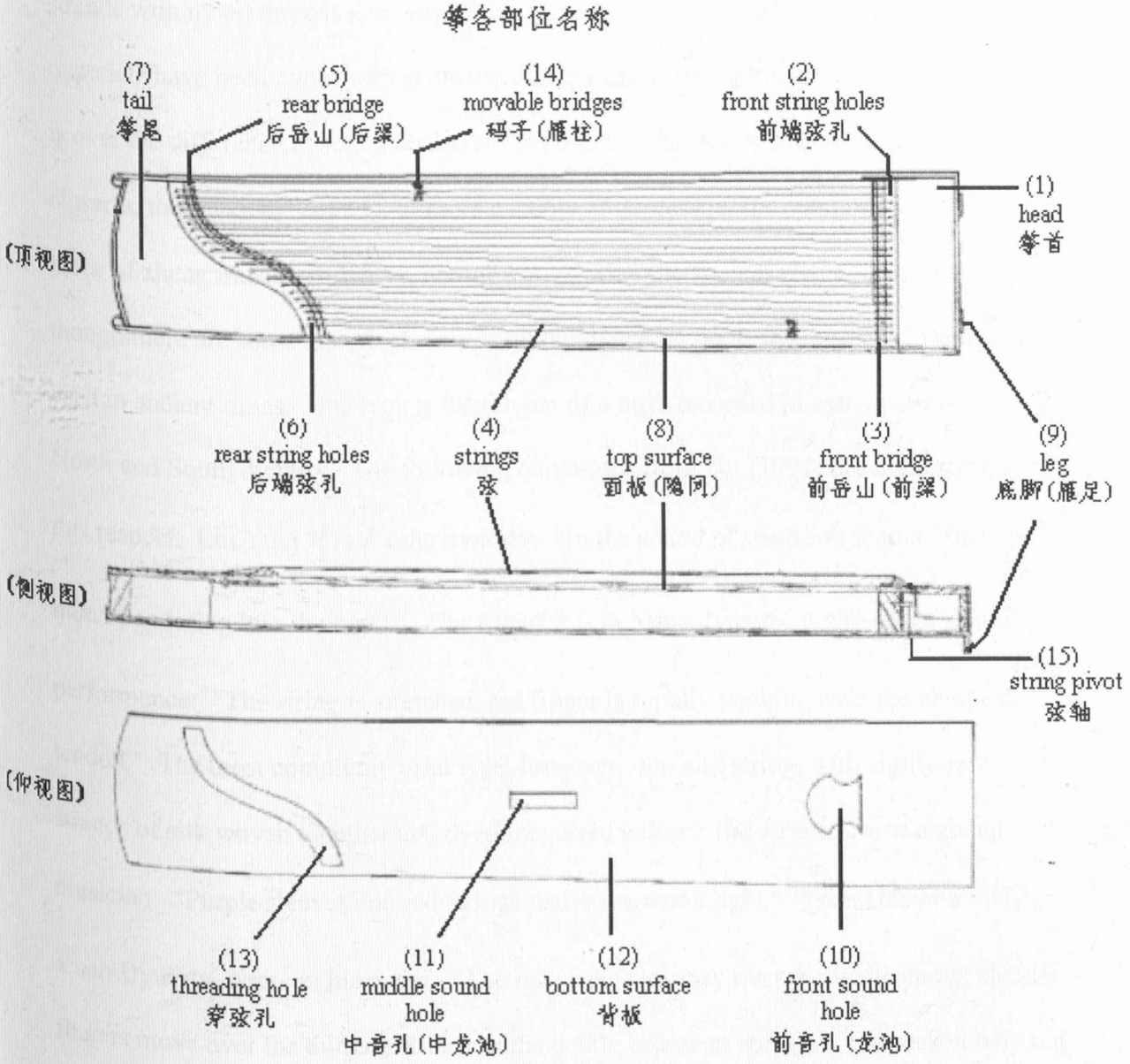


Figure 1. Structure of the twenty-one stringed zheng[42]

[42] Anotated by the author. (Liu Dongsheng 1992:200-201)

String Materials

The materials used in the strings of the zheng had undergone a number of changes over history. As already stated, the string used today is mainly made of steel strands with nylon threads spun over them (Cheng 1991:261). The issue of string materials have been controversial among zheng musicians for many years. The argument is over the difference in sound quality, or timbre, whether nylon and steel strings are closer to the "ancient" sound[43] or more capable of expressing the symbolic feelings of a piece of zheng music. However, no one knows what the ancient zheng sounded like, though there are some historical records on the materials used. Two types of strings were used in ancient times. One type is the tendon of a bird, recorded in many poems since the North and South dynasty. The following quotations from Lei (1993) are interesting in this respect. Liu Yuxi 刘禹锡 Tang dynasty: "In the sound of chicken's tendon, there is much pondering into the night." Zhu Ripan 朱日潘, Ming dynasty, wrote about zheng performance: "The string is stretched, the finger is rapidly stroking over the chicken's tendon." The most commonly used type, however, was silk string, with eighty-one strands of silk woven together and dyed into a red colour. Bai Juyi wrote of a zheng musician: "Purple sleeves and red strings under the moon light." Yuan Haowen 元好问, Yuan Dynasty, wrote in his poem: "The red strings journey over the white snow; slender fingers move over the thirteen strings in the gentle breeze of spring." The reason why red strings were used was because the strings need to be dyed to produce the right timbre.

[43] The idea of what is "ancient" was purely subjective, particular since steel strings were only used in the twentieth century. Some zheng musicians even felt that nylon strings are closer in sound quality to silk strings, and therefore more "truly" ancient.

According to Chen Haozhu 陈浩注, Qing dynasty, "... if the silk is not dyed, the sound is clear; if it is dyed, the sound is murky." Murky seemed to be the preferred quality, perhaps because it gave a richer tone.

Modern zheng musicians know what sound quality they prefer. There is a set of vocabulary used when discussing sound quality and when selecting and buying zheng. Words like "thick" 厚, "heavy" 重, "hollow" 空 are used, and the concept of "murkiness" 浊 seems to be an important criterion as it sounds "ancient". Some zheng musicians feel that if steel strings are used, the music can sound too noisy, possibly because modern zheng repertory is much faster and has many more notes. While the true reason is difficult to judge, the fact remains that nylon strings used today appear to provide the sound quality required by zheng musicians that combines both ancient features and caters for the modern repertory.

Twenty-one Strings

An interesting point about the modern zheng that is now used widely in Taiwan, Singapore and the Mainland, is that it has twenty-one strings. The invention of the twenty-one stringed zheng around 1960s arose out of a need for much greater complexity in repertory, as is evident from a comparison of sixteen stringed scores (e.g. Liang Tsaip'ing 1979a,b) and sixteen and twenty-one stringed scores (e.g. Hon 1982, 1987).[44]

[44] According to Liu Jingzhi (1988:456), a number of activities in the 1950s and 1960s stimulated the rapid change from sixteen-stringed to twenty-one stringed zheng. It seemed to have begun with a large scale change to all aspects of the Beijing Radio Broadcasting Station Orchestra in 1954, including substantial improvement of all instruments. There was a conference and exhibition of over seventy improved instruments to music professionals in the same year. This was followed by a number of similar events in Beijing and Shanghai in 1958, 1959, 1961 and 1964.

Twenty-one is a fairly large number by historical standards, and is a point of resentment among the older generation of zheng musicians. Some, like Liang Tsaip'ing, felt that the zheng is only "authentic" if it has sixteen strings. The fact that, historically, it had much fewer strings, such as twelve to thirteen for many dynasties, and possibly only five at the very beginning, was conveniently ignored. If we consider that it had taken two thousand years to reach sixteen strings in 1960, the replacement of most sixteen stringed zheng by twenty-one stringed zheng within thirty years and by about 1990 represents a very sudden change and a clear disjuncture from past history. This change is directly related to that which was taking place in the zheng repertory.

According to popular belief, the twenty-one stringed zheng was pioneered by Wang Xunzhi around 1960 (Sun Yun 1983; Sun Wen-yan 1991) with the help of craftsman Xu Zhenggao 徐振高. Photo 4 shows Xu in discussion with Guo Ying and Wang Changyuan 王昌元during that period (Sun Yun 1983). The twenty-one stringed zheng became the standard on the Mainland in the 1980s (Chen 1991: 223). In fact, larger zhengs of higher string numbers are continually being developed such as twenty-three stringed zheng, tension modulated zheng, butterfly-shaped zheng and pedalled zheng, as shown in photo 2 (j to n). One may wonder why the number twenty-one alone has become popular. A larger string number requires a larger zheng body to support. A large number of modern zheng pieces have been composed or rearranged for the twenty-one stringed zheng (e.g. *Zhengqu Xuan* 1982; Hon 1982, 1987). This combination of "hardware" limitation and "software" domination, to borrow both the terms and connotations of modern information technology, could have contributed to stabilise the

string number at twenty-one.

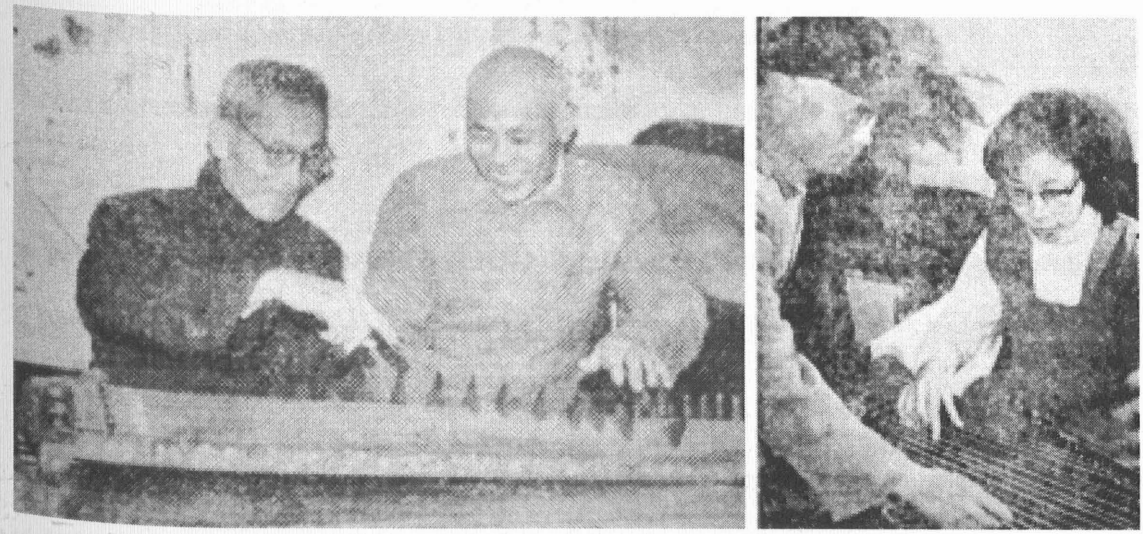


Photo 4. Xu Zhengao in discussion with Guo Ying and Wang Changyuan.[45]

2.5.2 Fingering Techniques

Many ethnomusicological writings provide descriptions of fingering techniques of musical instruments of different cultures to assist in understanding of the music. For example, Berliner (1994: 283) describes the fingering techniques for mbira, Howard (1988:203) for Korean *kayagum*, Gutzweiller (1974) for Japanese *shakuhachi*, Adriaansz (1973:50) for Japanese *koto*, and Kippen (1988:143) for the *tabla* of Lucknow. There are many Chinese books on techniques of playing the zheng (e.g. Wang and Wang 1996), but these are mainly for teaching purpose, and seldom consider the change in performance techniques over time. Zheng fingering technique is interesting in that it has undergone much change, and is an important difficulty for the transition from sixteen to twenty-one

[45] Xu discussed the reformation of the sixteen-stringed zheng with Guo Ying (far left), and the improvement of the twenty-one stringed with Wang Changyuan (far right) (Sun Yun 1983).

stringed zheng in both Taiwan and Singapore.

Zheng musicians place much time and emphasis on fingering techniques. Having chosen a good quality zheng, the techniques have to be honed to the required dexterity and speed in order to express a piece of music in the desired manner. Many of my interviewees often spend five to eight hours a day practising. Techniques vary greatly between zheng masters and zheng schools, and affect musical expression significantly. In the past, these tend to be viewed as proprietary. Today, many books on zheng techniques have been written with clear and detailed explanations of most of the common techniques (e.g. *Chengda Zhengji* 1989; He and Sun 1992). With the invention of the twenty-one stringed zheng, new techniques are developed to meet the demand of faster and more complex repertory (see section 5.3 on comparison of Mainland and Taiwanese fingering techniques).

Basic Techniques

I shall briefly discuss the basic fingering techniques (explained in Appendix B) that are common to the old and new techniques, and which appear to be the same across zheng schools, in order to facilitate subsequent discussions. The techniques may be broadly divided into two classes: pressing the string on the left of the movable bridge, and plucking the same string to the right of the movable bridge. The strings are tuned to the anhemitonic pentatonic scale on the right of the movable bridge, so plucking it there produces the basic note.[46] Pressing the same string on the left side of the movable bridge

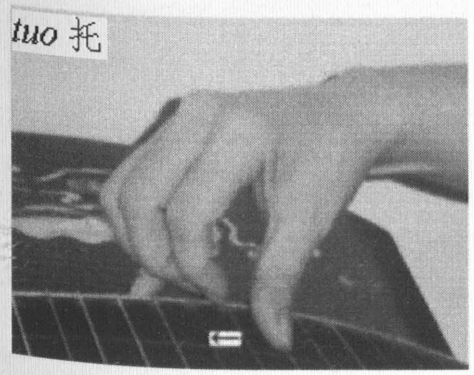
[46] The anhemitonic pentatonic scale used includes the tonic, second, third, fifth and sixth of the Western diatonic scale. In zheng music today, the tonic is typically a D or a G note - see figures 2 (a and b).

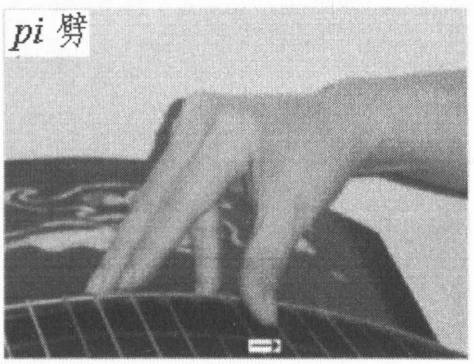
changes the tension of the string, and is used to change the pitch of the note. It is used to create special effects like vibrato (*zhanyin*), "point" note (*dianyin*), slide (*huayin*), etc. Most zheng musicians have the same opinion that these produce the unique character of zheng music (Zhao Yi 1992; Gao 1994). The difference from other Chinese musical instruments appears to be a combination of the large modulation which can be achieved because of the large gap between string and wooden surface, the timbre of the zheng notes, and the duration of the note each time a string is plucked. Plucking of the string on the right of the movable bridge can be executed in many ways. The more basic ones are shown in photo 5. In the modern zheng repertory, the left hand is also used to pluck the strings on the right of the movable bridge at the same time as the right hand, in order to provide harmony. There are many other techniques that I have not included here (see e.g. Wang and Wang 1996). The large numbers of techniques are normally executed rapidly in different combinations.

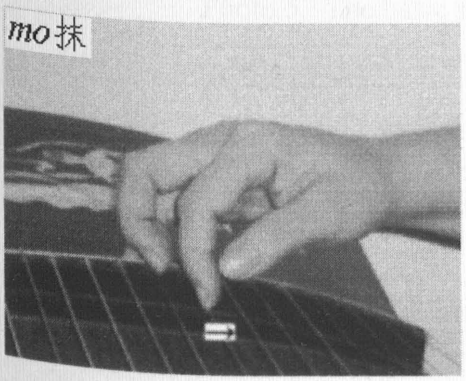
Artificial Nails

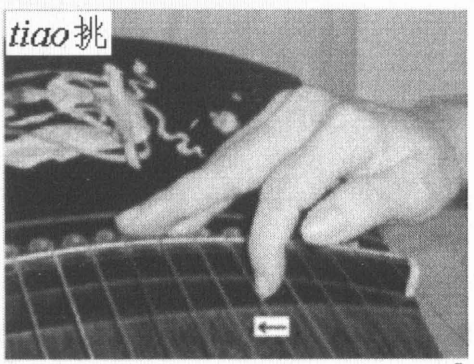
In order to achieve the desired sound quality - loud, "murky" and "clear" - zheng musicians evaluate the construction of the instrument body, material of the strings, as well as shape, size and material of the artificial nails. Zheng enthusiasts spend a lot of time looking for nails of the right shape, size and material to provide the flexibility and clarity (see Appendix A). In fact, nails have been around since early history, and materials such as silver, deer horn and bamboo had been used. Li Shangyin 李商隐, the poet of the Tang dynasty, wrote in her poem (Lei 1994): "Since I learnt the zheng at the age of twelve, I have not taken off my silver nails." Zhang Yu, Ming Dynasty, wrote (Lei

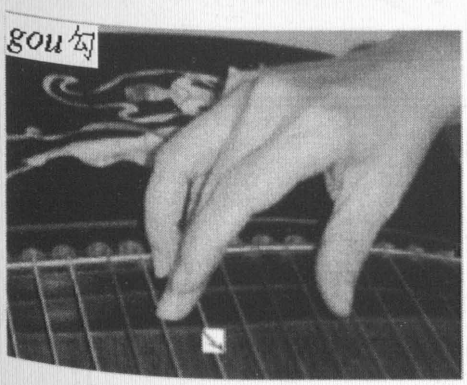
1994): "Playing the same [zheng] music as the ancestors, the slender silver nails look all the more endearing." Today, the nails are often made from turtle shell. Others still prefer to use natural fingernails, because they believe the tone quality is much better than artificial nails - especially, in combination with the flesh at the tip of the finger.

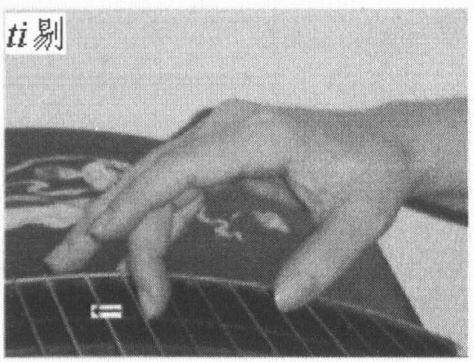












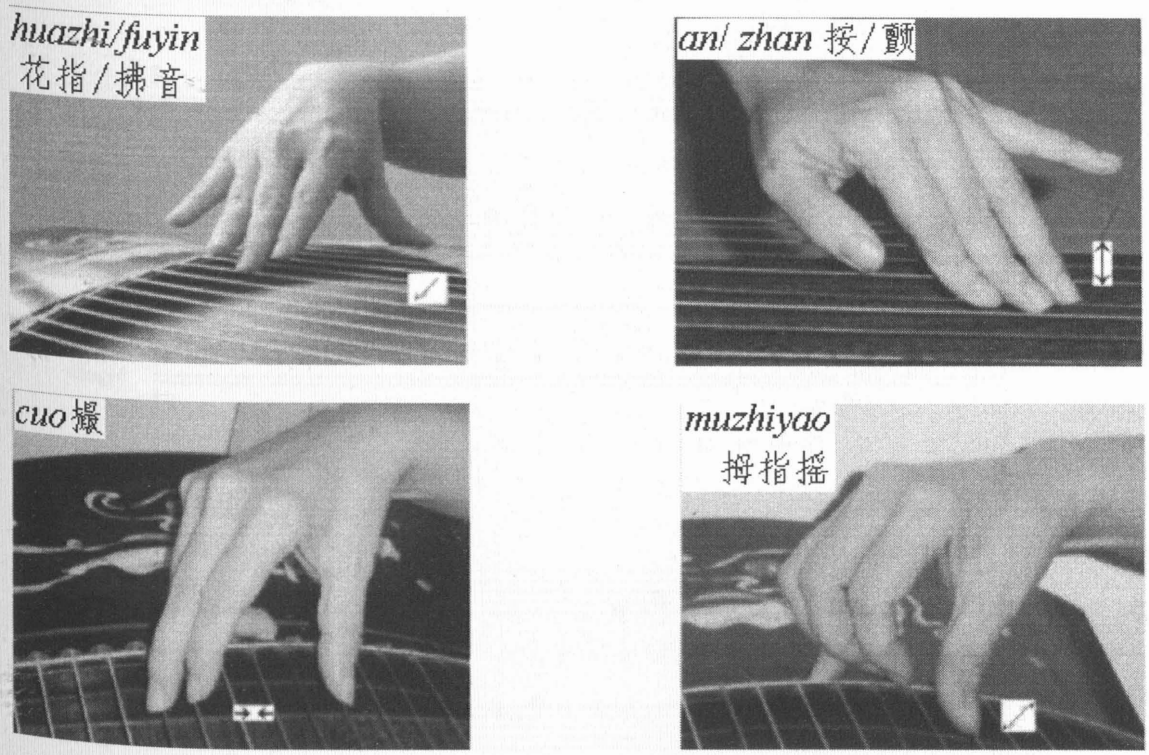


Photo 5. The basic strokes in zheng fingering techniques.

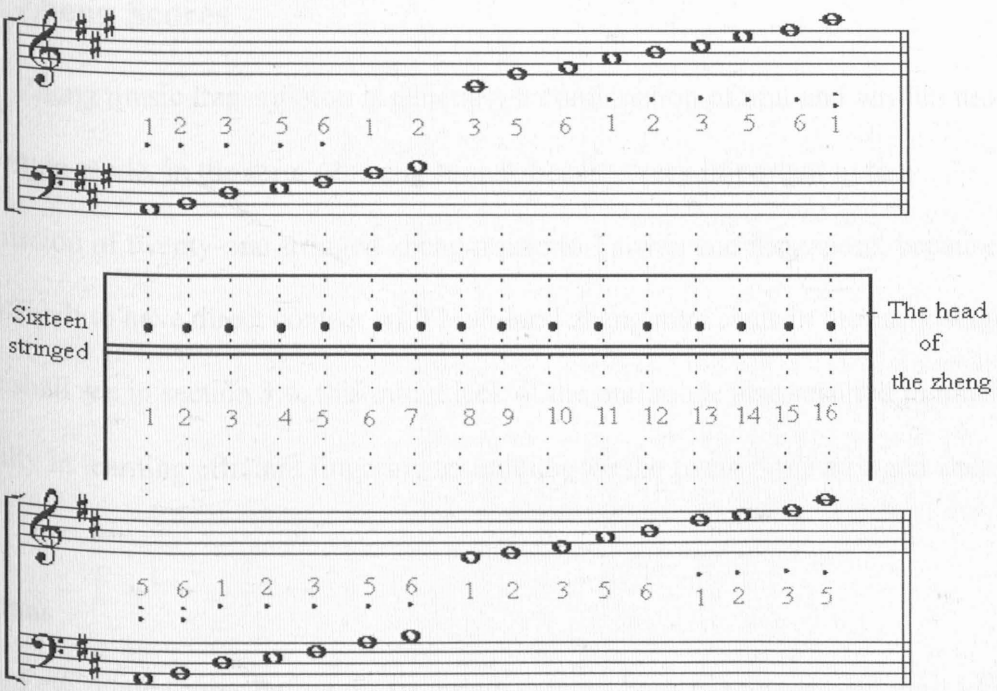


Figure 2. (a) Tuning chart for sixteen stringed zheng.

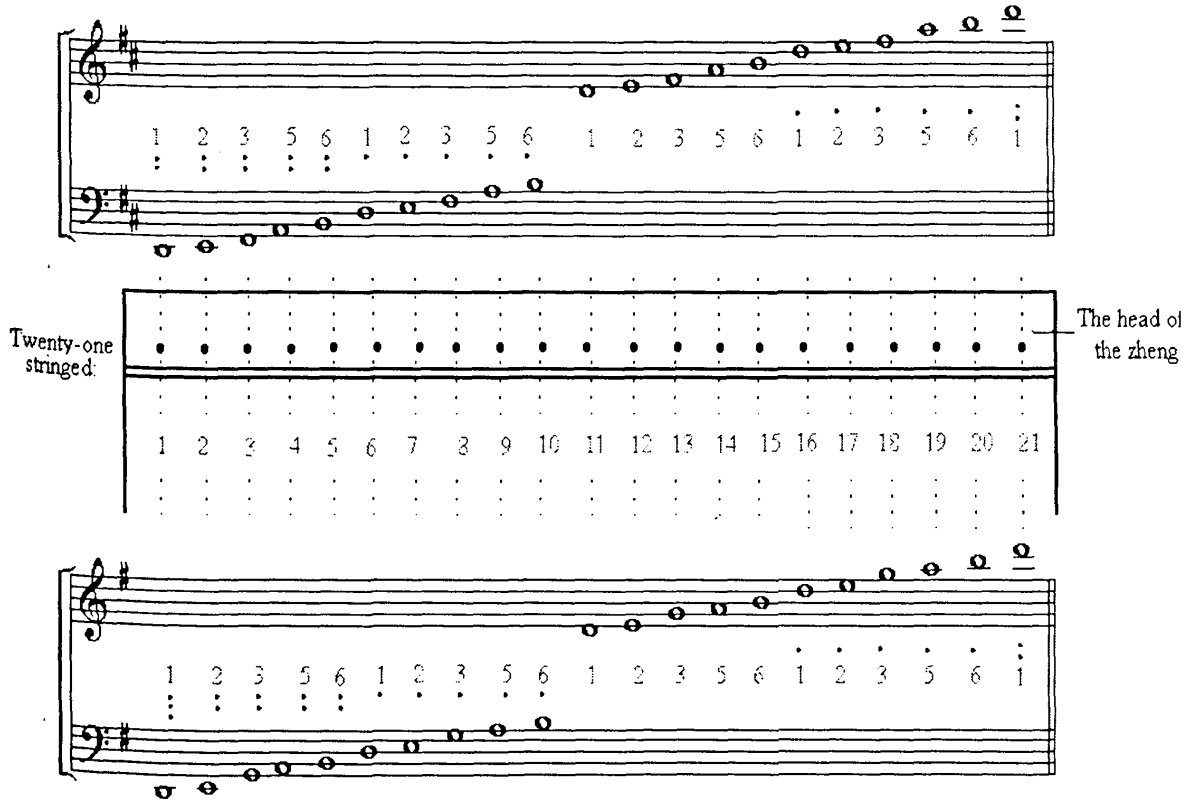


Figure 2. (b) Tuning chart for twenty-one stringed zheng. [47]

2.5.3 Zheng Scores

Zheng music transmission is generally a combination of oral and written modes. The written mode, in the form of zheng scores, became very important in the transmission of twenty-one stringed zheng music to Taiwan and Singapore, because it was difficult to have direct contact with Mainland zheng musicians in the early stages. As we shall see in section 3.4, this initial lack of the oral mode also resulted in much difficulty in learning efficient fingering techniques for the twenty-one stringed zheng.

Notations

Few zheng scores before the twentieth century have been preserved until today.

Ancient scores for certain genres of Chinese music do exist, such as *qin* and operas (Jin 1994:297), but there is very little on zheng music. According to Liang Mingyue (1985:200), over three thousand *qin* compositions have been preserved in notation. One of the earliest is *Youlan* 幽兰. A Tang dynasty copy of the score for this piece is preserved in Japan today. Historically, Chinese musical notations can broadly be divided into three kinds: tablature, pitched and graphic (Liang Mingyue 1985:186). Tablature notation consists of symbols which look like but are not Chinese characters, each representing the fingering technique for a note, and is used in *qin* music. Pitched notation consists of symbols which may or may not be Chinese characters, each representing the pitch of a note. Graphic notation has some similarity to staff notation, and represents the pitch of a note by the spatial position of some symbol. The existence of these notations shows that they had been used, possibly widely, in ancient times, even though most have not been preserved. One type of pitched notation, known as *ersipu* (see figure 3), where the pitch of each note is represented by a Chinese number, is a notation of the Chaozhou 潮州 zheng school (Chen, Louis 1978). Another type of pitched notation, *gongchepu*, where the pitch of each note is represented by a Chinese character, has also been used in zheng music (see figure 4). Today, the most common zheng notation uses cipher notation, also a pitched notation, where each note is represented by an Arabic number. This originated in France in the sixteenth century and is still used in some parts of Europe to read hymns today (Williams 1903).[48] It was transmitted to China from Japan in the early twentieth century (Du 1995:100).

[47] The number next to each note is the number that is used in cipher notation.
[48] *Ziffersystem (Numerical Musical Notation)*. Internet http://www.mhsc.ca/encyclopedia/contents/Z544ME.html. Accessed on 27 Dec 2001.

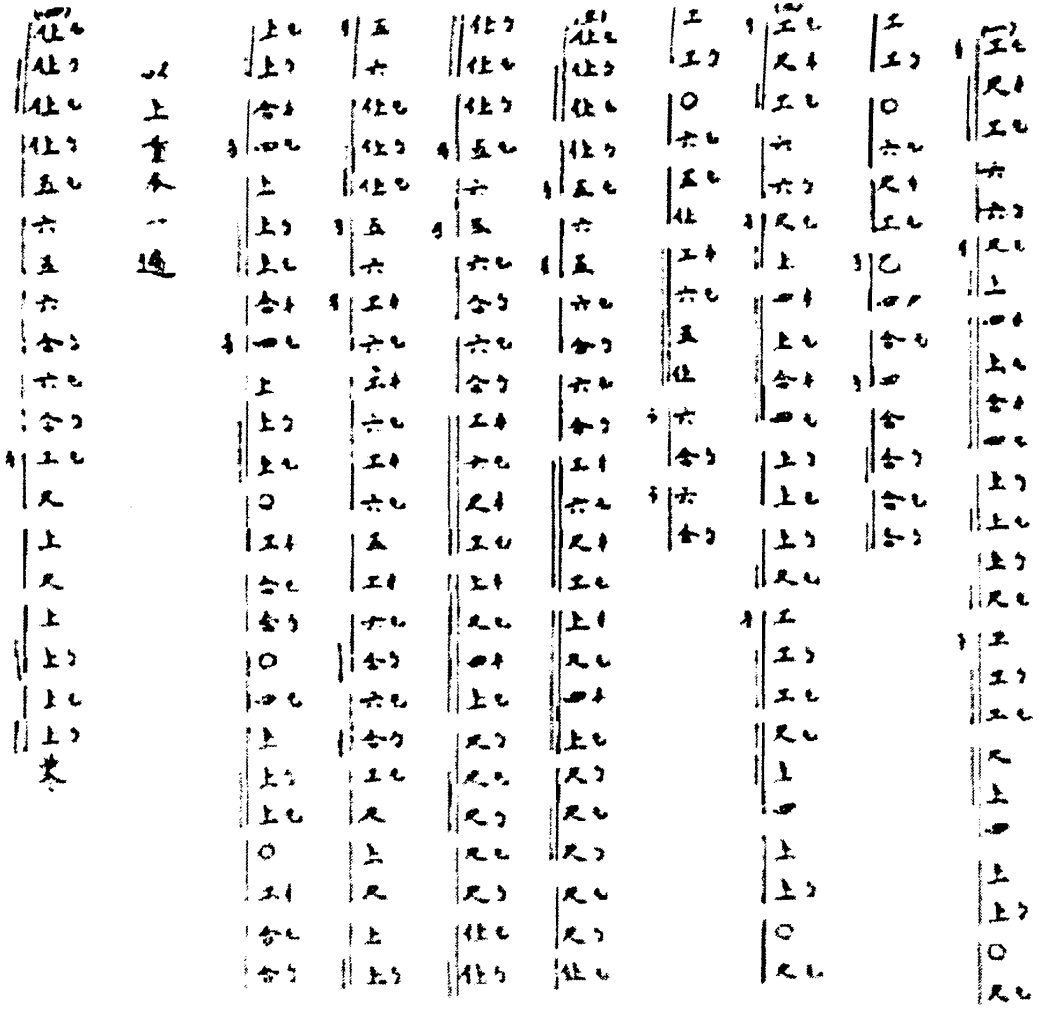


Figure 4. *Gongchepu- Shang Lou in* (Liang Tsaip'ing 1986:161-2)

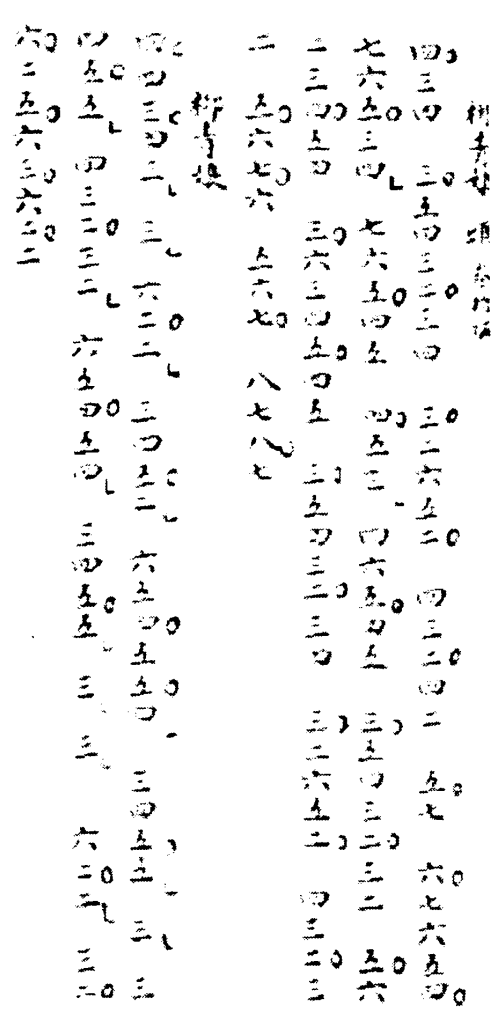


Figure 3. *Ersipu- Liuqingniang* (Chen. Louis 1978: 117)

Naming Composers

In Taiwan, one of the most widely used collection of scores has been compiled by Liang Tsaip'ing (1979a,b). Liang, who came to Taiwan around 1949, rearranged much of the zheng music in his collections from traditional repertory on the Mainland, and from other Chinese instruments. He also included his own compositions and the photographs of his zheng performances overseas. His scores were developed for the sixteen stringed zheng. Looking through a sample of more than twenty randomly selected zheng scores, published variously on the Mainland (e.g. Li Meng 1995; Guo 1997), Taiwan (e.g. Wei Wanling 1991; Shih 1982), Malaysia (e.g. Peng and Chen 1979; He and Sun 1992) and Singapore (e.g. Lian 1997), it can be seen that each piece is either attributed to a musician of the twentieth century, or anonymous. Even when a musician is named, he or she may not be the composer. The score may be "rearranged" (*gaibian* 改编) or "transmitted" (*chuanpu* 传谱) by him or her. "Rearranged" means that the musician takes existing melodies, from other instruments or genres, and edits them for the zheng. This means rearranging the melodies into a sequence that the re-arranger likes, transposing them to within the tonal range of the zheng, and adding symbols for appropriate fingering techniques. The original composer is either not known or ignored, and there seems to be little motivation to preserve the original form of the composition. "Transmitted" means the musician has obtained the score from another book or person. Occasionally, it may be mentioned that it has originated from some ancient time or composer, although this is rare.

All these are in stark contrast with Western music, in which composers are often known, except possibly for ancient melodies, and the integrity of each piece is usually

preserved. There are many Chinese publications,[49] both modern and historical, on zheng music. These publications contain extensive discussions on performers, interpretations, aesthetics and poems on zheng music, but give comparatively little information on composers and scores. Zheng music and Chinese music in general, gives little recognition to composers until the twentieth century. It is easy to attribute this change to influence by the Western music tradition as a result of globalisation in the twentieth century, though we should also consider other factors in the Western culture, which made that tradition viable. Most of earliest known Western composers lived in the Middle Ages,[50] at about the same period of time as the emergence of the modern society.[51] This thesis does not attempt to explore the reason as to why Western composers were named since the Middle Ages. The fact that widespread recognition of Chinese composers also started at about the time of the emergence of modern society in China in the early twentieth century is an interesting coincidence. Today, the names of modern composers of zheng music often appear on the zheng scores. This is likely to give the composers significant advantage in their careers.

Westernisation

Today, zheng scores from the Mainland include more modern compositions, make liberal use of harmony and are largely written for the twenty-one stringed zheng. For example, He Baoqian and Sun Wenyan (1992) and Guo (1997) contain graded exercises

[49] E.g. in the *Qin Zheng* journal from 1983, published in Xi'an Music Conservatory 西安音乐学院.
[50] Dr Steven Estrella's Dictionary of Composers. Internet http://www.stevenestrella.com/composers/. Accessed 27 Dec 2001.
[51] Modern societies developed "from the period of their formation in western Europe, at the close of the Middle Ages, through the rise of early capitalism, the age of exploration, and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, to the culmination of the Industrial Revolution at the end of the nineteenth-century" (Bocock and Thompson 1992:1).

with compositions from famous zheng musicians, showing a departure from traditional styles. Wang and Wang (1996) include a large amount of folk melodies, and is a step by step guide to playing techniques. Their purely mechanistic explanations are a marked departure from the traditional teaching style of zheng masters like Liang Tsaip'ing and Hon Seewah, who would teach using symbolism.[52]

The scores developed in Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Mainland show different degrees of Westernisation. Surprisingly, the extent of Westernisation seems to be inversely related to the actual amount of contact between the country and the West. The change in Mainland zheng music is by far the greatest, and this happened over the three decades before and during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) when China was largely closed to the outside world. During this period, the Communist government actively promoted the use of Western art and music to serve communist ideology (Liu Jingzhi 1998:388). In contrast, although Taiwan maintained contact with the United States, the zheng music there remained largely in the traditional sixteen stringed zheng style until after the lifting of martial law in 1987. Thus, there appeared to be little inherent motivation for zheng musicians to embrace Western music on their own initiative.

2.5.4 Zheng Repertory

Repertory is possibly one of the most widely studied topics in ethnomusicology, including studies of transcriptions (Nettl 1964) and the many musics transcribed and recorded from fieldwork (e.g. Densmore 1926; Bartók and Lord 1951). It has often been

[52] In a conversation with Hon in 2002, when she came to be a judge at a zheng competition in Singapore, I notice that she now tends to explain techniques in mechanistic terms.

used as a means to give insight into the culture (e.g. Lomax 1962; Feld 1984). Zheng repertory has undergone vast changes over the latter half of the twentieth century. Recordings of zheng music over the last fifty-year period are available. Zheng repertory has been collected into a large number of published scores, with commentaries by zheng musicians (e.g Hon 1982; Liang Tsaip'ing 1979a,b). However, there tends to be significant variation in the rendition of the same piece of zheng music by different musicians. Kwok (1987) has attempted a study of such differences, and others have made similar studies for other Chinese musical instruments (e.g. Koegel 1991 - on *dizi*). There is significant leeway in the interpretation, and scores are often treated as notes of reminder, rather than a complete representation of the actual music.

Notation

Scores used in zheng music have undergone a number of changes. The traditional *gongchepu* and *ersipu* were commonly used up to about fifty years ago in zheng music (Liang Tsaip'ing 1979a) and are still used by some music groups. Since then, zheng scores have largely changed to cipher notation, in which each note on the diatonic scale is represented by number from 1 to 7, with higher and lower octaves indicated by one or more dots above or below the number. A sample of score used today is shown in figures 5 and 6. Figures 5 (a) and 6 (a) are cipher notation and 5 (b) and 6 (b) are staff notation.

In the past few years, there has been a preference among some zheng musicians for staff notation, for easier integration in orchestral performance, or for personal reasons. From my own experience with zheng students, cipher notation appears easier to learn and

use, whereas staff notation requires more training time.[53]

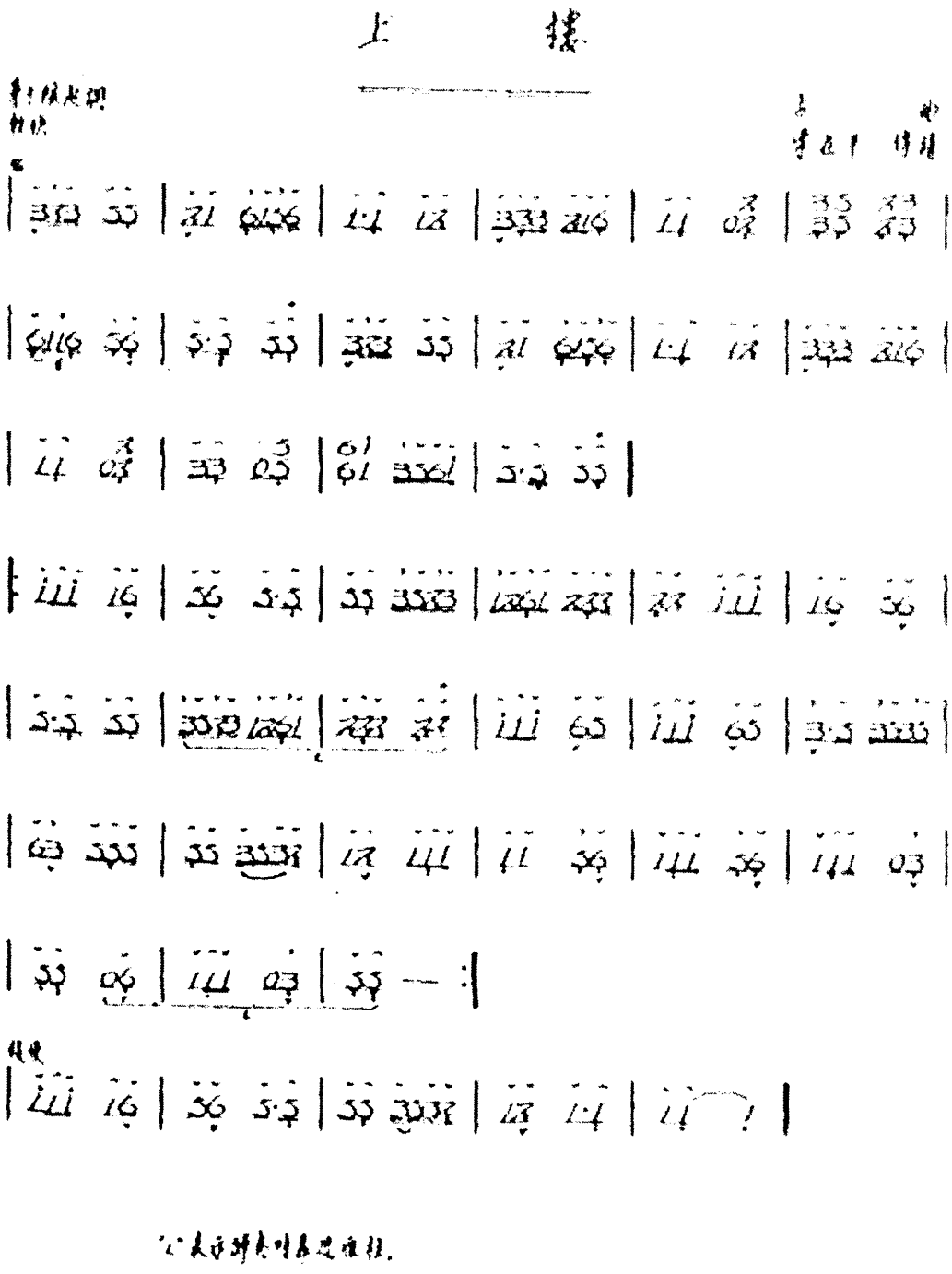


Figure 5. (a) *Shang Lou* (Liang Tsaip'ing 1986:61)

[53] The scores mentioned here are all pitched scores. Japanese *koto* music (Hughes 2001) and Chinese *qin* music use tablature scores, which are essentially "directions for finger placement" (Liang Mingyue 1985:187). Historically, most scores for Chinese instruments other than *qin* were based on pitched scores of one form or another.

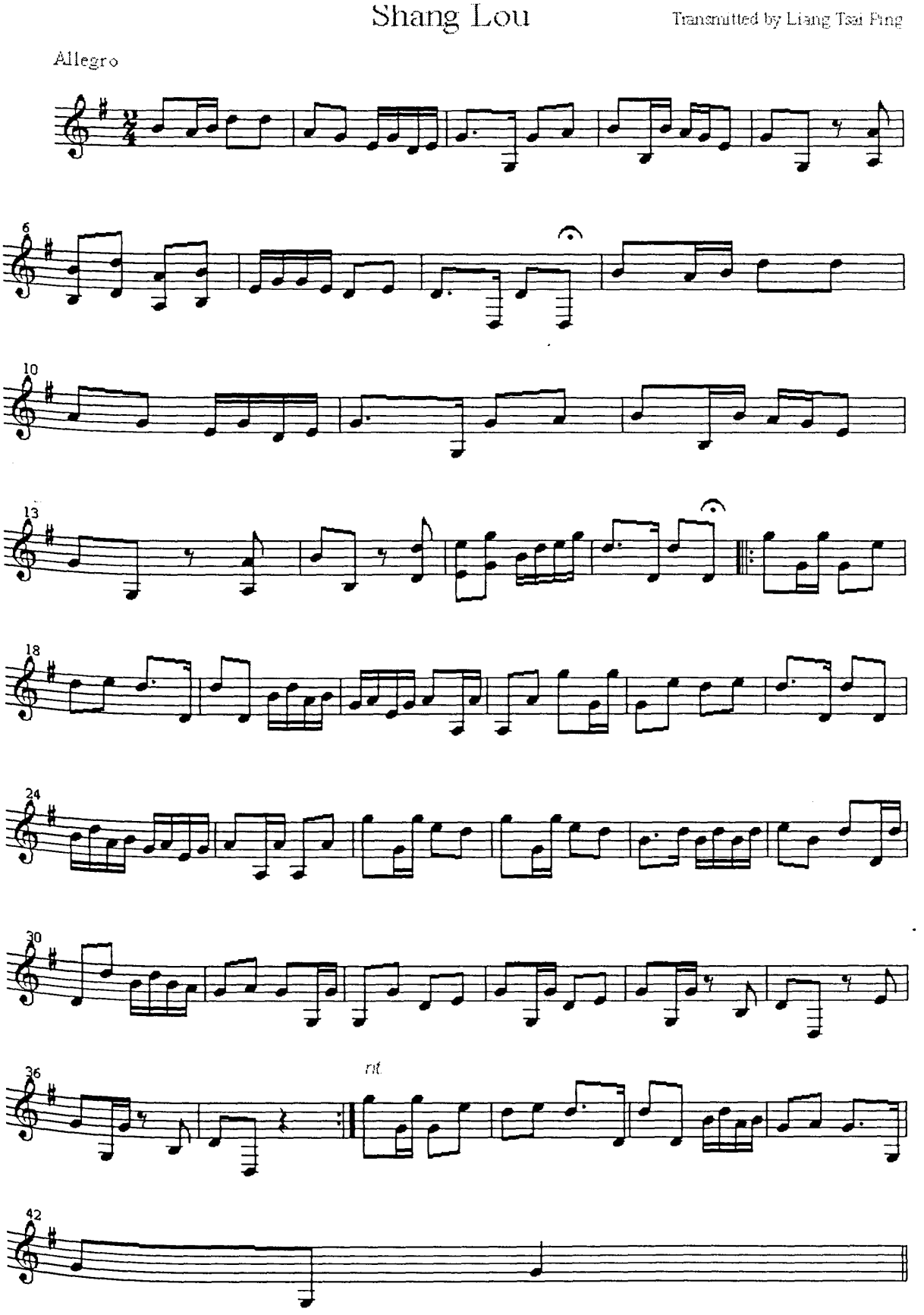


Figure 5. (b) *Shang Lou*, in staff notation.

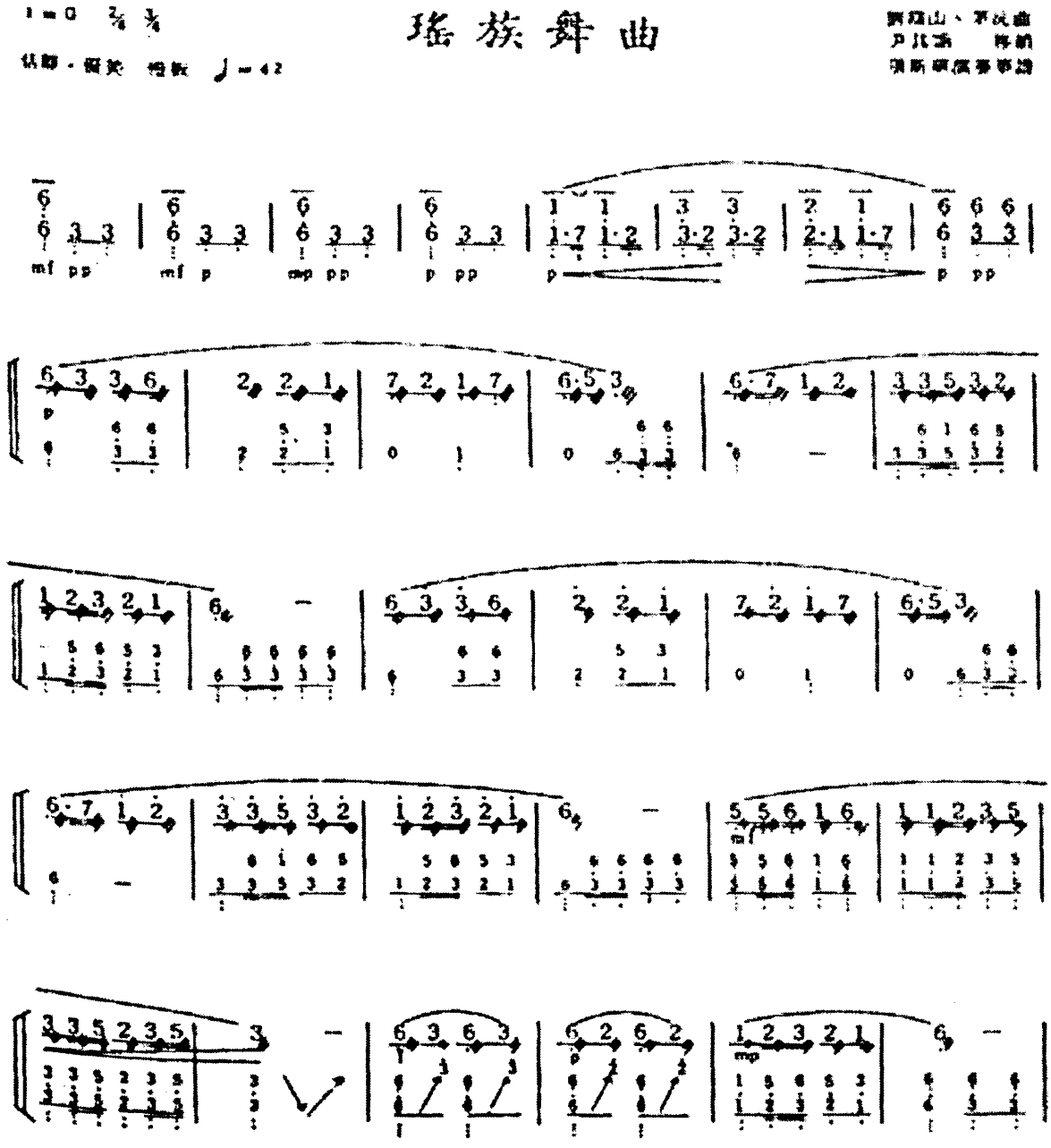


Figure 6. (a) Example of a modern piece of zheng music, for the twenty-one stringed zheng – excerpt from *Yaozu Wuqu* 瑤族舞曲 (Hon 1982:98).

Yaozu Wuqu

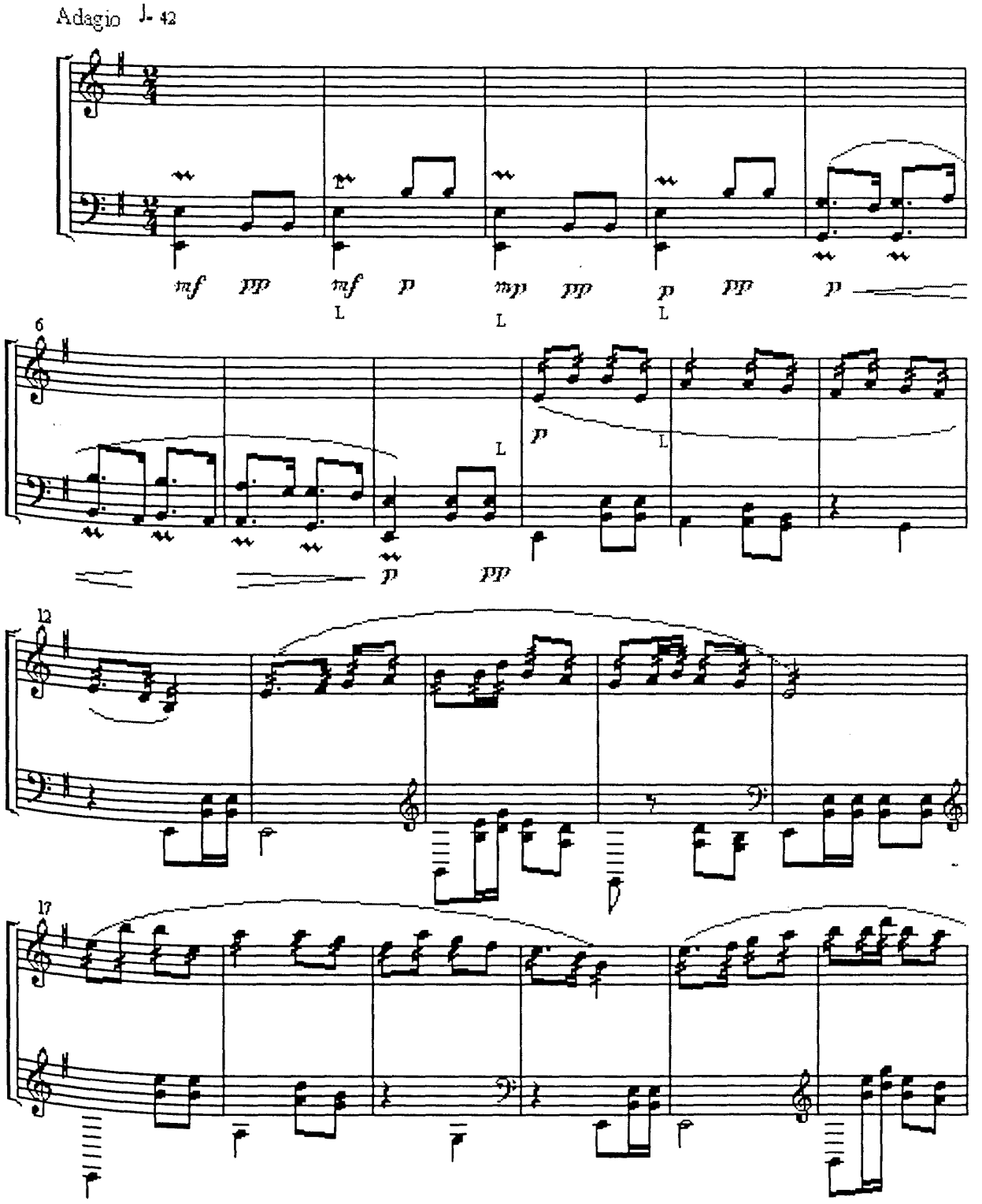


Figure 6. (b) *Yaozu Wuqu*, in staff notation (Transcribed by the author).

Melody

Traditionally, zheng music, as with the rest of Chinese music, has a strong emphasis on melody. Levis (1963:vi) even went as far as to suggest that Chinese music has "*the only art of melody in any known musical system*".[54] Harmony has not been widely used until fairly recently; in the twentieth century. Zheng scores from the Mainland after 1949 gradually incorporated more harmony (*Zhengqu Xuan* 1982). By 1991, when I went to study zheng music in Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts 香港演艺学院 under Mainland teachers, I participated in a zheng group, which was divided into a few parts to provide melody and harmony. Compared to a Bach prelude or Mozart sonata, typical zheng music harmony may appear elementary. The exception is orchestral pieces, such as *Donghai Yuge* 东海渔歌 [Fisherman's Song at Eastern Sea], with zheng playing the leading part among other Chinese musical instruments.

Repertory Development

There is a core set of zheng repertory in which the same few pieces of music are practised and performed frequently and for many years. Change may occur but very slowly, over a number of decades. This core set may vary in different countries, in Taiwan (e.g. Liang 1979a,b), Singapore (e.g. Tan and Qi - undated) and the Mainland (e.g. Guo 1997). In addition, there is a variable set that changes from year to year (e.g. for Taiwan: Ch'en Hsinhua 1986; Chuang and Chong 1994). This pattern is apparent from an examination of the zheng music scores published in these countries over the past

[54] Levis arrived at this conclusion by discovering a strong relationship between the rules of composing ancient poetry, known as the *pingze* 平仄 system, and the melodies of Chinese music.

few decades, and from my own teaching and performing experience in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. The core set may in turn be divided into two main groups, the traditional group and the modern group. One group consists of traditional pieces, of which the composers and year of composition are not known. They could have been around for over a hundred years, and may have undergone many modifications. One example is *Chunjiang Huayueye* 春江花月夜 [Flowers by the River at Moonlit Night in Spring], of which a number of versions are available. Another group consists of modern compositions that have gained wide acceptance, of which composers are known.

The core set in Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s, for example, may include *Yuzhou Changwang* 渔舟唱晚 [Fishermen's Song at Night] (Liang Tsai'ping 1979:b), *Luoyuan* 落院 [The Courtyard], *NaoYuanxiao* 闹元宵 [Celebration of the Lantern Festival] (Wei and Wei 1997:113). All of these belong to the traditional group. According to zheng musicians I interviewed, they are either adapted from folksongs, or from repertory of other Chinese instruments. The core set in the 1980's also had a number of new additions to the modern group. These include *Kouque Dongnan Fei* 孔雀东南飞 [the Peacock Flying Southeast], *Xi* 溪 [The Brook], *Bianjiang Wuqu* 边疆舞曲 [Dancing Song at the Frontiers] by Wang Huiran 王惠然 (Cheng 1980:84),[55] *Yuetao Xiang Man Yuetaoshan* 月桃香满月桃山 [The Fragrance of the Moon Plum Filling the Yuetao Mountain] by Wei Tei-Don (Shih 1982:235). The precise repertory of the variable set, by its very nature, is difficult to determine. For example, we may obtain a snapshot of the variable set in Taiwan around 1980s from zheng textbooks written by Shih (1982) and Ch'en Hsinhua (1986). These

include *Wusuli Chuange* 乌苏里船歌 [the Boat Song at the River of Ussuri], *Chicheng* 驰骋 [Speeding], *Tingyuan Shenshen* 庭院深深 [Deep in the House Garden], *Yu Meiren* 虞美人,[56] *Qixi Yin* 七夕吟 [Recital on the Chinese Valentine Day], etc. These are either written for the zheng, or adapted from pop songs at the time.

Expressive Titles

We may notice from the above titles that they tend to be descriptive, and meanings often involve nature, people or feelings. As far as I know, there is hardly any title that is purely categorical, by key or by number, like for example Mozart's Sonata in C Major K545,[57] so common in Western music. The nature of zheng music titles is closely related to the way zheng musicians interpret the music. A typical interpretation (e.g. Liang Yifu 1996) of a piece of zheng music would start from its title. There would be some "deductions" about the intentions of the composer. It tends to be a story created around the title, which often depends on the creative thinking of the musician doing the interpreting. This is followed by a discussion on what techniques would be suitable to express each part of the story. While such an approach may seem largely arbitrary, it provides a way to decide what feelings should be expressed.

[55] Cheng did not indicate the composer. The composer's name can be found in the Mainland publication by Guo (1997:122), where the piece is known as *Yizu Wuqu* 彝族舞曲 [Dance Song of the Yi Nationality].
[56] Name of the wife of Xiang Yu 项羽, a famous general who fought against Liu Bang 刘邦, first emperor of Han Dynasty.
[57] Except for a few pieces composed by Liang Tsaip'ing.

2.6 Modern Zheng Music

The phrase "modern zheng music", or *xiandai zhengyue* 现代筝乐, has been used a number of times in this thesis. Although it is certainly necessary to distinguish from zheng music of the past, the word "modern" as used in this context is by no means well defined, and here would be a good point to address this. In Western music, modernism may be defined by a significant change in musical style, such as move away from a dependence on major and minor keys (Griffiths 1994:7). Although there are a number of characteristics of zheng music in its present form for which data are available from interviews and publications, whether these are significantly different from zheng music in the past is not always clear, due to a lack of scores and recordings. The following are changes that are likely to have taken place largely in the twentieth century:

(1) On the Mainland, many zheng musicians are conservatory trained.

(2) Zheng music uses much harmony today.

(3) A large amount of zheng music is in the form of recordings, compact discs and video tapes sold commercially.

(4) Frequently, the music is broadcast over the television or radio.

(5) Most zheng instruments today have twenty-one strings.

(6) Zheng music scores mainly use cipher notation.

These features are the result of changes of the twentieth century, but others may already have been present in past centuries, including:

(1) Music of other genres, such as instrumental and folk songs, are often played on the zheng.

(2) There are various distinctive musical styles known as zheng schools.

(3) Zheng musicians often travel widely on the Mainland to perform.

(4) They make a livelihood by teaching and performing, and the number of students or concerts often depends on the economy.

While these may not be different from past centuries, there are some developments that are new, such as:

(1) The playing of Western music on the zheng,

(2) The development of personal styles by the masters,

(3) Travelling overseas to perform, and

(4) The dependence on an economy that is increasingly globalised, with the increasing participation of the Mainland in the world economy after the Cultural Revolution.

In this section, developments leading to the above changes in zheng music in the twentieth century are discussed. The word "modern" is used for zheng music in this thesis both in a chronological sense, to refer to the twentieth century, and in the stylistic sense, to refer to the above changes that had taken place during the twentieth century.

These changes may be understood in the context of the corresponding periods of political changes on the Mainland. For the discussion of this thesis, the development of

zheng music may be broadly classified into three periods: from 1900 to 1948, 1949 to 1976, and 1977 to the present. These periods are largely defined by political changes, which is the main reason for choosing them. The changes in zheng music itself, while clearly having taken place, are less well defined chronologically. However, it is still possible to correlate to a large extent the changes in zheng music with the above periods.

2.6.1 First Modern Period: 1900 - 1948

1900 was nearing the end of the Qing dynasty, the last dynasty of China, and the founding of Republic of China by the Nationalist government. Although this founding of the Republic was largely a symbolic gesture, as the Nationalist government did not have any significant control over China at the time (Worden, Savada and Dolan 1987: The Republican Revolution of 1911), it was nevertheless representative of a period of significant social and political change. The first period showed an increase in knowledge of and influence by Western music, and zheng music began to develop into a genre of its own, as did the music of other Chinese instruments, such as *erhu* (Stock 1996) and *dizi* (Lau 1996).

Early Modernisation

At the turn of the twentieth century, China was in a state of transformation both politically and musically (Wang Yuhe 1984; Liu Jingzhi 1998). Some intellectuals, such as Liang Qichao 梁启超, felt that music education had to be widely promoted in schools, and that it would be disgraceful if no one in China knew how to write music (Liang Qichao 1979:58,77). Most Chinese musicians who advocated a national music idiom had

received their musical education in Japan, Russia, and the West, and had yet to formulate in detail what a new Chinese music should comprise (Wang Yuhe 1984:14-19). A group of musicians in Shanghai, called the "Zhejiang Chao" 浙江潮, started at around 1902, was one of the leading factors in the modernisation of music in China. The intellectuals there wanted to follow the example of the Meiji era in Japan (A.D. 1868-1912) which marked the beginning of Japan's modernisation. Some notable pieces were rearranged to give them a modern style and flavour. For example, *Chunjiang Huayueye*, originally entitled *Xiyang Xiaogu* 夕阳箫鼓 [Flute and Drum at Sunset], was rearranged for the ensemble in 1925. The significance of this is twofold: (1) This was one of the earliest known attempts to rearrange Chinese music for an ensemble in the modern – or Western – form, with parts for different instruments and some harmony. (2) The piece was to become part of the core repertory of zheng music and continues to be widely performed and recorded today. This piece will be further discussed in chapter 5.

From 1904, some volunteers were willing to go abroad to Japan and Europe just to study music. These included the famous musicians Xiao Youmei 萧友梅 and Li Shutong 李叔同 (Wang Yuhe 1984:47). Some of them believed that music has ethical values and that it educates and elevates people, especially children. They were also impressed with the level of music education attained in Japanese schools. Besides this, other Chinese scholars thought that in order to encourage and motivate people, music schools should be set up and new music composed, based on Western styles. After 1905, singing in schools was encouraged, with new songs being composed for this purpose. Western music theory and performance practise s were emphasised. Moreover, a

number of musicians adopting the Western art song style, as opposed to the typical Chinese folksong style, increased dramatically, as an increasing number of Chinese musicians were educated in Western music. Among those who went abroad and performed zheng to a Western audience were Lou Shuhua and Liang Tsaip'ing. They took part in "The Travelling Troupe of Chinese Music" to Europe to perform the zheng in 1935.

Zheng Music

In 1919, in protest against the government's surrender to the Twenty-One Demands from Japan, the students responded with a general strike on school campuses. The Fourth of May Movement broke out and several thousand students demonstrated in Tiananmen Square, where their protests were crushed by the police on 4 May, 1919. This movement led subsequently to literary and other reforms. Many of the Chinese who had been trained as professional musicians in Japan and the West returned to China during this period and assumed leadership roles in music. They joined together and devoted themselves to promoting Western music. Furthermore, following the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1931, melodies of Chinese folk songs were supplied with new texts for use in schools, at social gatherings, as protest melodies against Japanese aggression, and as propaganda by the Chinese Communist Party (Wang Yuhe 1984:47). At the same time, some volunteer zheng groups raised funds to bring relief to the afflicted areas and to establish schools by performing zheng music in public.

In the 1930s, many new pieces of zheng music appeared which were influenced by Western musical styles: Lou Shuhua rearranged *Yuzhou Changwan*[58] and Liang Tsaip'ing (1979a:137) rearranged many of the traditional pieces for zheng music, such as *Daoyi Qu* 捣衣曲 [Lament of A Washer Woman], *Yuqiao Wenda* 渔樵问答 [A Dialogue between a Fisherman and a Wood Cutter] adapted from *qin* music, and *Jiaochuang Yeyu,* adapted from "silk and bamboo" music.[59] *Yuzhou Changwan*, for instance, had a slow-fast-slow structure, which was relatively uncommon in traditional Chinese music at that time.

Photo 6. Gathering in Nanjing[60]

[58] This piece of music was handed down by his teacher in 1937 (see photo 6).
[59] A genre of Chinese music practiced in the region around Zhejiang province (Witzleben 1987).
[60] *Nanjing yaji* 南京雅集 [Gathering in Nanjing]: (from left) Liang Tsaip'ing, Cao Zheng, Lou Shuhua, and Zheng Yingsun 郑颖孙 in Nanjing, 1946. (Liang Tsaip'ing 1992:30)

The performance of zheng music was widespread (see photo 7), principally in cities rather than in small towns, and quite a number of performers had experience performing on the streets. Overall, it could be said that zheng music was intimately

Photo 7. Gathering in Guiyang [61]

related to life of the common people. The *yaozhi* [tremolo] and *zhanyin* [vibrato] techniques, for instance, were for expressing sorrow because of the sobbing-like sound they could create, while the *huayin* [slide] was suitable for expression in the intonations in the Chinese dialects. Then as now, many melodies from folksongs were played on the zheng. Folksong melodies performed by the zheng were also close to the hearts of the common folk. These happened during the decade or so before 1949 when China was in a state of turmoil and the common people led a difficult life. Zheng performers were

[61] *Guiyang Yaji* 贵阳雅集 [Gathering in Guiyang]: (From right) Cheng Zhenyi, Wu Nanqing , Liang Tsaip'ing, and Yang Dajun in Guiyang, 1943. (Liang Tsaip'ing 1992::29)

taught by the oral/aural tradition, or through scores handed down from their teachers in which scores were disseminated.

2.6.2 Second Modern Period: 1949 - 1976

Cultural Revolution

1949 was the year that the Nationalist army moved to Taiwan, and the Mainland came under the rule of the Communist government. This second period marks an ideological break from the past, in which the Communist government directed all cultural activities, including zheng music, to serve the common people. This policy probably had its root a number of years earlier, in Mao's talks in Yan'an 延安 in 1942 (McDougall 1980).[62] The far-reaching effect of this policy is evident on music of all genres within a short time, including instrumental music (Lau 1996), folksong (Schimmelpenninck 1990), and also Western music that was played in China (Krauss 1989). Under conditions set by the state, musicians on the Mainland began composing new music and rearranging old music into new forms that are supposed to serve the Communist ideology. It is interesting to note that these often had their sources in folk music, renamed with new, "revolutionary" titles.[63] During this period, many downtrodden musicians were elevated by the state to national status. Together with a new generation of young musicians nurtured in the years of 1949 to 1966, a new tradition of Chinese

[62] The ideas of art serving the communist cause were likely to have originated from Zhdanov's socialist realism of the Soviets in the 1930s (Terras 1985:531; Internet http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_realism, accessed on 29 Dec 2003).
[63] Much of this new zheng music was able to slip through the strict ban (on communication with the Mainland) in Taiwan by mere change of names. Thus the same music was used for different functions: for instance, on the Mainland for revolution, and in Taiwan for entertainment.

music was created (Lau 1996). From 1966 to 1976, there was to be a sharp drop in all but state-sponsored musical activities because of the Cultural Revolution.[64]

Radio stations, music conservatories, music publishers, record companies and other media became properties of the Chinese Communist Party after 1949. Between 1949 and 1966, scores of traditional zheng music kept by individual performers were collected and arranged by a number of musicians and published by musical institutions or the state publishers. A list of publications during this period is given at the end of the bibliography. Most of these appeared from the 1950s to the early 1960s. Some of the publications from or about the zheng masters of this period are included in the list. Some publications which appeared after 1976 are also included because they were written by zheng masters who had been active from 1949 to 1966, and were often the fruits of their performing experience from this period. Some were written by their students or friends after the musicians had died; for example, the book of scores from Luo Jiuxiang 罗九香, who died in 1978, was published by Shi Zhaoyuan 史兆元 in 1985.

Meanings

The "meanings" assigned to some of the zheng music are described below, to give an idea of how the political conditions after 1949 had affected zheng music. In zheng music, the meaning of a piece of music tends to be given by the composer or the individual musicians, and is often included as a commentary in the published scores. This assigned meaning is the basis for much of the interpretation, symbolism and

[64] This was a period during which young people were mobilised by Mao Zedong 毛泽东 to criticise and destroy much of tradition, and during which many intellectuals were forced into labour camps (Worden,

expression by performers, and is thus a highly significant aspect of the music. The following descriptions are typical of commentaries in published zheng scores, and also give some idea of how zheng musical techniques are used for expressive purposes.

(1) *Zhan Taifeng* [Battling Against the Typhoon][65] composed by Wang Changyuan. The composer spent some time experiencing life at a Shanghai quay, possibly for inspiration, before she composed it in 1965. The music describes a group of Shanghai dockers trying to salvage their properties under the roaring wind and the towering waves during a typhoon. There are five sections:

(i) Hard at Work. The opening of the piece makes use of powerful, five note chords and gives the feeling of labourers working hard at the dock.

(ii) Arrival of the typhoon. By using the *cuoyao* 撮摇 and *guazou*, fingering techniques normally played on the right side of the bridge, but are played here on both sides of the bridge, a discordant effect is produced. This was also the first time that such a technique was used, and opened a new vista in the expressive power of the zheng.

(iii) Battling against the typhoon. The use of *kou* 扣 and *yaozhi* technique deepens the mood of the piece by simulating the sound of the wind. Together with *saoyao sidian* 扫摇四点 and *shuangshidian* 双食点[66] techniques, the acoustic effects of excited clamour and great fervour are produced, to create the feeling of

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Savada and Dolan 1987: The Cultural Revolution Decade). Much of normal life came to a standstill during this period, including normal education.

[65] Commentary from CD on zheng music, entitled "The Dance of Dunhuang" 敦煌唐人舞, performed by Lin Ling 林玲, accompanied by The Central Philharmonic Orchestra of China, Conductor: Hu Bingxu 胡炳旭, released by ROI Productions Ltd, Hong Kong, 1993.

the battle.

(iv) Clearing of the sky. The *guazou*, *payin* 琶音 and *yaozhi* techniques are used to make lyrical melodies which show that the typhoon has passed.

(v) Jubilant quay. The melody is performed in octaves until the close of the piece, with the left hand playing powerful *guazou*, creating an emphatic ending for the piece as a whole.

(2) *Xingfu Qushui* 幸福渠水 [Water from the Drain of Happiness][67] composed by Hon Seewah, Shen Liliang 沈立良 and Fan Shang'e 范上娥. In 1974, while Hon was still on the Mainland, she and Shen planned to compose this piece of music. They wanted a piece that was "coloured" by the local culture and at the same time contained modern performing techniques. For this purpose, they went to Henan Province to do field collection of folksongs.[68] They later finished this piece with the help of Fan. This piece of music was based on Henan folk melody, and made use of the traditional Henan technique, *youyao* 游摇. As the commentary would say, the piece was designed to be "close to the hearts of the common folks, and expressed people's emotions full of joy and ecstasy when the irrigation ditch had finally been built". It probably expressed the Chinese Communist Party's official position on what the people's emotions ought to be. It consists of three sections.

(i) Jubilation. The opening of the piece makes use of powerful chords, with

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[66] *Shuangshidian* - plucking the strings alternately with the index fingers of both hands.
[67] Commentary from Hon (1987:151).
[68] Collection of folksongs in general was a long term, nation wide project on the Mainland (e.g. Schimmelpenninck 1997:10).

yaozhi and *guazou*, and gives the impression of a prelude.

(ii) Recollection. The right hand plays the *yaozhi* technique in the lower register to give the melody a song-like style with the left hand's *guazhou* and *payin* adding beauty to the melody.

(iii) Ending. This merry section is performed by playing *kuaishidian* 快四点 and *saoyao sidian* techniques and *yaozhi*. As a result of their high speed and the active movement involved in performing, the ending is full of excitement.

(3) *Chundao Lasa* 春到拉萨 [Spring in Lhasa][69] composed by Shi Zhaoyuan in 1961.[70] It depicts early spring in Lhasa, capital of Tibet, when all living things were enlivened, and rivers and mountains were restored to their greenness - a sight of total prosperity. This is possibly a metaphor for the unification of Tibet with China by the Chinese communist party. There are three sections.

(i) The introduction starts with six note arpeggios - *payin* - together with *cuoyao* to sustain the lively and cheerful emotions.

(ii) In the second section, *yaozhi* plays a major role, and accompanies the left hand to produce a lyrical melody.

(iii) The closing section concludes in excitement. The right hand part employs various techniques, including *yaozhi* and chords, as the left hand accompanies with *guazou* and *saoyin* 扫音, returning to the tonic on a final chord.

[69] Commentary from CD on zheng music, entitled "Running of the Steel Flow", performed by Wang Hsun 王珣, released by Music in China Publishing Co., Taipei, 1991.

(4) *Qingjiang Fangpai* 清江放排 [Rafting in the Qing River][71] composed by Chen Guoquan 陈国荃 and Ding Boling 丁伯苓 in 1975. This music depicts the rafting workers' lives and the roaring water of the Qing River:

(i) The music begins with the blissful feeling of the rafters, as their rafts float along with the swift current. The *yaozhi*, *guazou* and *anyin* are used frequently.
(ii) The second section shows up a passage of remembrance in which the rafters reminisce about their old days. The notes are mainly in the lower register, accompanied by *yaozhi* and *anyin* to express life near the river. For several generations the rafting workers have not had such a chance of experiencing comfort and happiness. However, things have finally changed for the better.
(iii) The last section describes the bravery and the skills of the rafters. In the coda, the tail piece before the tonic at the end, the right hand thumb, index and middle fingers play together on the *guazou*, as the left hand accompanies with the *anyin* technique, reflecting the delight of the rafters after they have overcome their difficulties and dangers.

The above commentaries give some idea of the techniques used to express various feelings. They might have been the original intentions of the composers, or the interpretations of subsequent musicians or publishers. Some zheng musicians even

[70] Dates are indicated in *Zhengqu Xuan* (1982), which collects together many widely played pieces that were composed in the period 1949 – 1979.

suggested that the "Tai" in *Zhan Taifeng* refers to Taiwan. Thus, glory of the common people and achievement of the Communist party becomes the common and officially authorised themes of zheng music. Interestingly, the control by the state apparatus did not entirely stifle creativity, as evidenced by the number of pieces, such as those above, composed during this period, and are still being played today not only on the Mainland, but also Taiwan and Singapore. The above pieces differ from older pieces in:

(1) the use of new and more complex fingering techniques,

(2) folksong melodies "discovered" in the fields are widely used,

(3) resulting in an infusion of regional and ethnic music into zheng music,

(4) there is a definite move from music of the scholars to music of the people, not only in the people who play the zheng, but also in the themes of the zheng pieces, and

(5) except for interpretation of the music, the pieces are Westernised in a number of fundamental ways, including the extensive use of harmony, a metronomic tempo, reduction of techniques involving microtones, etc.

A comparison of scores of modern and traditional pieces, as shown respectively in figures 5 and 6, clearly illustrates points (1) and (5).

[71] Commentary from CD on zheng music, entitled "Running of the Steel Flow" 钢水奔流, performed by Wang Hsun, released by Music in China Publishing Co., Taipei, 1991.

Instrument

However, it was not only the repertory of the zheng that was reformed during this period. The instrument itself was also redesigned. A twenty-one stringed nylon string zheng was designed by Zhao Yuzhai in the late 1950s. Shortly after that, versions with twenty-five, twenty-six and twenty-eight strings appeared, and the double-zheng (see photo 8)[72] as well as the tension-modulated zheng[73] were also invented. This resulted in

Photo 8. Zhang Yan and Hon played the double-zheng (left and right).[74]

[72] The double-zheng is an unusual instrument, consisting of one twenty-five string tension-modulated *zheng* together with another *zheng* with twenty-eight strings. It is controlled by one performer, playing either one *zheng*, or both simultaneously. This new instrument offers the possibilities of bitonality, modulation and embellishment, which were more difficult in the traditional "single" zheng. (see photo 8)

[73] Produced by the *Yingkou Manzhou Yueqichang* 营口满洲乐器厂[Ying Kou Manchurian Musical Instrument Factory] in 1979, the tension modulated *zheng* works on a similar principle to the harp in that the tuning of each string can be changed by pedals.

a number of new compositions such as *Linchong Yeben* 林冲夜奔 [Lin Chong Hurrying at Night] for twenty-one stringed zheng composed by Wang Xunzhi and Lu Xiutang 陆修棠 in the early 1960s; *Haiqing Na Tian'e* [Falcon Catching a Swan], a concerto for the double-zheng arranged by Wang Shu 王树;[75] and *Nanhai Yuge* 南海渔歌 [South Sea Fishermen's Songs], composed by Fang Zhixun 方智训[76] for the tension modulated zheng in 1974. As a result of these developments, the traditional sixteen stringed zheng with strings made of steel or silk was soon replaced by the twenty-one stringed zheng with nylon strings, which is commonly used today. It should be mentioned that zhengs with string numbers more than twenty-one have not become widely used.

Teaching

Lau (1996) discusses the importance of viewing music change as a combination of two equally significant factors: external conditions, and actions of the musicians themselves. He observes that famous *dizi* musicians had been elevated by the state from socially oppressed positions to national status. They willingly and honestly became spokesmen of the new ideology, and influenced *dizi* music accordingly. In a similar way, noted zheng musicians were appointed to teach in conservatories. These zheng musicians had significant influence on the development of the new zheng music tradition. In the

[74] Photo 8. (Left) Zhang Yan performed in Taichung, Taiwan, 1990 - from a video tape on Zhang's performance. (Right) From the cover of a compact disc recording of Hon's performance. See under Discography – Hon (1989).

[75] "Falcon Catching a Swan" is a well known item in the repertoire of the *pipa* (the Chinese lute).

[76] In the early 1974, when a successful tension modulated *zheng* was made at the *Zhongguo Yingkou Dongbei Yueqi Gongsi* 中国营口东北乐器公司[China Yingkou Dongbei musical instrument company], this piece (for zheng and Chinese orchestra) was arranged. The composer, in order to write this piece, had studied the zheng performing techniques from various schools.

1950s, most of their teachings and performances were based on traditional pieces and styles, which they learned and inherited from their teachers. Therefore, traditional oral and aural teaching methods persisted. Hon said that she had to write down her own notations when she learnt zheng music from her teacher. Huang Haoyin also said that when she learnt from Loius Chen, she had to write down the notations as well. However, she found it was very difficult as each time Chen played differently. In Singapore, many zheng musicians in the early years had to write down the zheng notations on their own, by listening to the vinyl or tape recordings. Gradually, however, new zheng performing techniques emerged and became more complicated. Techniques were adapted from practical skills in other string instruments, like the *pipa*, piano, harp and guitar, to enrich zheng music.[77] Such efforts have, for instance, resulted in the widespread use of techniques such as two-handed plucking and simultaneous glissando and tremolo. *Siduan Jin* 四段锦 [Four Pieces of Velvet], composed by Zhao Yuzhai in 1954, was the one of the early pieces of zheng music to use the two-handed techniques extensively.

Biographies

These new developments and their relation to earlier practise can be clearly illustrated if we consider briefly the contrasting cases of two very different zheng musicians. One is Cao Zheng of the old school, the other is Hon Seewah of the new twenty-one stringed tradition. The biographies of a number of zheng musicians of the older generation could be found in the *Qin Zheng* (1983-) journals. The other sources of biographies are zheng music recordings released by the musicians. These are briefer. In

[77] From conversations with Hon Seewah in 1991.

the case of Hon Seewah, I was able to supplement this data slightly because I had spent a year studying zheng under her in Hong Kong in 1991. On the whole, biographies tend to be written for the famous zheng musicians, not the ordinary ones. They are often full of praises of how they had succeeded against all odds, and how they have "served the people" with their music. In what follows, as far as possible, only the dates and activities of the musicians are extracted from the sources. Hopefully, the reduction to these basic data provides a picture that is closer to the truth.

Cao Zheng

Cao Zheng was born in Liaoning in 1920. His original name was Guo Jiguang 郭缉光. In 1936, he studied the zheng under Lou Shuhua. In 1946, he was introduced to learn the zheng under the Liang Tsaiping by Lou in Nanjing (see photo 6). In 1948, he started teaching in the *Nanjing Guoli Yinyue Xueyuan* 南京国立音乐学院 [Nanjing National Music Conservatory], and became possibly the first zheng teacher in a conservatory in China. That same year, he gave up his position, changed his name to Cao Zheng.[78] In 1950, Cao performed in the first radio broadcast after under the new government. Since 1949, he had been teaching zheng courses at the music conservatories in Xi'an, Shanghai and Beijing. In the 1960s, he arranged a zheng-*erhu* duet from *Yuzhou Changwan* and won the first prize in a music contest in Liaoning. Between 1946 and 1950, he published one *gongchepu*, two cipher scores, and went on to publish a number of zheng textbooks and articles over next several decades. He reputedly produced a few hundred students,

[78] Cao Zheng in Mandarin sounded similar to *chaozheng* 朝正. According to himself, this meant "follow the right path". Given the context, this probably meant the communist path.

including many famous ones like Zhou Yanjia 周延甲, Qiu Dacheng 邱大成, Hon Seewah, etc. In the 1980s and 1990s, he travelled widely to promote zheng music, giving lectures and performances, and acting as advisor to many organisations.

Hon Seewah

Hon Seewah was born on 19 October 1939 in Shanghai (see photo 8). At the age of seven, she studied piano. She entered the affiliated high school of the Shanghai musical conservatory 上海音乐学院附中 with a piano major in 1956. Two years later, owing to the call by the government she was shifted to be majored in the zheng and was under Wang Xunzhi, the master of the Zhejiang school. In 1960, Hon was up-graded to the Department of Folk Music of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music and graduated in1965. During her study, she had also had the opportunity to learn from other zheng masters such as Cao Zheng (Shandong), Guo Ying (Chaozhou) and Ren Qingzhi (Henan). After graduation, she was employed as a zheng soloist at the Shanghai Orchestra, the Beijing Chinese Opera and Dance Theatre and the Beijing Film Studio Orchestra, and a zheng lecturer of the Beijing Central Conservatory of Music and the Chinese Conservatory of Music. She lectured on the zheng at the Chinese University of Hong Kong as well as the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts after settling down in Hong Kong, in 1981. She was the author of two volumes of zheng scores (Hon 1982, 1986). In 1993 Hon emigrated to Canada.

The main difference between Cao and Hon is that Hon is conservatory trained, but Cao is not. However, both had taken steps to create new directions themselves, arranging

new pieces, gathering more students, organising concerts, travelling and making new contacts, writing books and releasing albums. At a personal level, these made them famous and provided for a comfortable living. At a societal level, this created a large following of students and musicians who wanted to learn their musical styles. According to Lau's (1996) argument, the changes in zheng music in this period would be as much a result of changes in social-political conditions, as they are a result of active rendering by zheng musicians. Biographies of the Mainland zheng musicians given above provide some insight into this.

2.6.3 Third Modern Period: After 1976

Recent Development

1976 marked the end of the Cultural Revolution. The third period ushered in rapid Westernisation of zheng music, with widespread use of harmony, and reduction of older modes of expression using microtones. Many new pieces of zheng music were composed in the second and third periods, and these eventually made their way to Singapore and Taiwan. Data on this period are obtained from proceedings of a zheng conference held in Yangzhou 扬州 in 1986, the *Qin Zheng* journal published since 1983, interviews with Mainland zheng musicians who went to Hong Kong and Singapore, and publications and recordings on zheng music.

These different sources could to some extent be used to verify the reliability of data against one another. A number of observations are evident. There had been a growing interest in zheng music through the 1980s and 1990s, in terms of increase in zheng music activities, such as concerts and setting up of new classes in new locations on

the Mainland. Much emphasis was given to improving teaching methods. Students viewed zheng music as a prospective career path. The way in which zheng music is interpreted and expressed is similar to Taiwan during the period from 1949 to 1980, as we shall see, the only difference being a bias towards communist ideology of serving the people, at least in publications. There is a continued interest in the history and origin of the zheng, as well as the use of classical literary expressions to help in the interpretation of zheng music. A number of zheng musicians migrated to other countries soon after the Cultural Revolution, and the trend appears to continue, though zheng musicians are often reticent about the reason.

Government policies changed after the end of the Cultural Revolution, and the focus was shifted to the modernisation of socialism. This was due to Deng Xiaoping 邓小平, paramount leader of the Chinese Communist Party, whose aim was to educate and enlighten the people, and enable them to enjoy recreation and beauty (Deng 1979). The economy gradually improved, and there was an increase in musical activities. The development of zheng music entered a new era.

Modern Compositions

The move from traditional to contemporary performing techniques resulted in the development of new musical styles which were more westernised. Deng did not have an equivalent of Mao's Yan'an talk on the use of art and culture to serve the revolutionary cause, and changes appeared to be a result of greater freedom in composing and playing zheng music, which no longer have to be restricted to the revolutionary cause. A lot of flexible tempo is used in the introductory melodic phrases of modern zheng pieces.

Tremolo techniques appear frequently, as do techniques requiring the rapid use of both hands. There are less of the traditional left-hand techniques such as *anyin* and *zhanyin* which produce expressive microtones. In place of these is the liberal use of chords or broken chords that are played by the left hand as a form of accompaniment to the melody played by the right hand. Examples of zheng music influenced by this development include *Shanmei* 山魅 [Mountain Ghost], and *Qingjing Sanzhang* 情景三章 [Beautiful Scenes: Three Movements] (Xu Xiaolin 1994:14,41) Compositions took on many forms, including solo, orchestral, ensemble and concerto. In this way, zheng music became more widespread. Examples of zheng music which combine the zheng with the orchestra include *Dunhuang Tangren Wu*, *Liang Zhu* 梁祝 [The Butterfly Lovers] and *Miluo Jiang Huanxiangqu* 汨罗江幻想曲 [Fantasy on the Miluo River]. These titles do not have anything to do with Communist ideology. They are often associated with something from the past, a historical event or folklore. Dunhuang, for instance, refers to a series of caves in the Xinjiang region in western China, famous for its wall paintings dating to the Tang dynasty (Whitfield 1995). The Butterfly Lovers is a widely told and frequently dramatised legend about a Romeo and Juliet style love story, set in ancient China. Miluo River is the site where the famous poet and patriot Qu Yuan 屈原, who lived during the Warring States period, drowned himself (Hawkes 1985). Thus, these new, westernised compositions are designed explicitly to elicit in the Chinese people a sense of belonging to a common origin.

Conferences

An important conference was held in Yangzhou, a city near Shanghai, in 1986.[79] It was the first time the general development of the zheng was studied. The issues discussed included: innovation and advancement in zheng performing techniques, research and development of the zheng, the aesthetics of zheng music, the new generation of zheng performers, and the standardisation and improvement of zheng teaching materials and methods. It lasted for six days and over two hundred people attended. They exchanged their research and views on the zheng and its performance. In addition, seventy-three pieces were performed, including traditional ones like *Yuzhou Changwan* and *Gaoshan Liushui*, as well as thirty new pieces of zheng music, such as *Kongque Dongnan Fei* [The Peacock Flies Southeast] and *Xinyuan* 心愿 [A Wish]. Photo 9 shows a similar conference was held in 1991 and a third one in 1996 (Ge 1996). In the last two conferences, many zheng musicians from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore also attended.

Today, most professional zheng performers are conservatory-trained. In contrast with the older generations, they have a foundation in Western music, are fluent in various regional zheng schools, and their performing techniques are more complex. Nonetheless, the senior performers, who formed the first generation of conservatory teachers and soloists still enjoyed a good reputation. Many young zheng musicians have won acclaim both in national and international contests. A lot of them have been invited to perform in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and other countries. It is these young

[79] This conference was called *Zhongguo Guzheng Yishu Xueshu Jiaoliuhui* (see bibliography under Primary Sources). Proceedings was published, but circulation was limited.

Photo 9. The zheng conferences in Yangzhou.[80]

[80] Photo 9 (Top) The committee of the second zheng conference; (Centre left) The Children zheng group performing at the opening section. (Centre right) Liang Tsaip'ing speaking at the conference; (Bottom) The committee of the third zheng conference. (Liang Tsaip'ing 1992:28-9; *Qin zheng* 1992.1 *and* 1996.1: at the back cover).

zheng musicians who form the bulk of the zheng musicians coming to Singapore to stay and teach zheng music. Corresponding migration to Taiwan takes place on a considerably smaller scale because, for political reasons, it remains difficult for Mainland Chinese to obtain work permits in Taiwan.

This chapter provides the background for the following chapters on zheng music in Singapore and Taiwan. It shows the intimate and active relationship between zheng music practise and Chinese history. As a result, whenever zheng music is learnt or performed, the student or audience would be reminded of certain aspects of Chinese history, and that this is also their history. In this way, ethnic identity is being actively reinforced.

Chapter 3

Zheng Music in Taiwan

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is on zheng music in Taiwan (see map 2), and explores repertory, performance, musical style, expression and organisation that have changed significantly after 1949.[1] There is a clear correlation between various stages of change, and the history and politics of the island. The culture of the society, and the way it is modified by

Map 2. Taiwan[2]

[1] In Taiwan, Chinese music is known as *kuoyue* 国乐 [National Music].
[2] Internet http:// www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia02/taiwan_sm02.gif. Accessed on 2 July 2003.

national education and economic organisation in the nation building process, has influenced zheng music in many ways.

The written history of Taiwan dates back to 1544, when Portuguese sailors "discovered" Taiwan and called it *Ilha Formosa*, "the beautiful island" (Eto 1963:43). At various stages of history after that, the Chinese and the Japanese came and went. Mass migration took place as the Nationalist army fled to Taiwan (Mancall 1963:5). Many people, including zheng musicians, came. The pioneers of the early zheng music were active in spreading the music in Taiwan.[3] They organised classes and performances, and the popularity of zheng music increased. The period from 1949 to 1980 constituted the early modern period of zheng music in Taiwan. With no contact with the sweeping changes to zheng music taking place on the Mainland, the Taiwanese zheng music retained very much the pre-1949 musical style.[4] From 1981 to 1987, information on the exciting new zheng music of the Mainland began to trickle in, soon after the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976. This might be considered the transitional period of zheng music in Taiwan, characterised by the excitement of a younger generation of zheng musicians who wanted to change.[5] In 1987, the martial law imposed since the arrival of the Nationalist government was lifted. This opened a floodgate to Mainland Chinese zheng music, and ushered in the recent period of zheng music in Taiwan. Zheng musicians in Taiwan appear to embrace Mainland Chinese zheng music, prompting zheng

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[3] From interview with Liang Tsaip'ing.

[4] By the 1970s, recordings from traditional zheng schools from the Mainland began to reach Taiwan (Cheng 1997:77). Many local zheng compositions also appeared (e.g. Shih 1982:Editor's Biography). At the same time, a distinctive style known as Ch'engta zheng school (section 3.4.3) also appeared.

[5] Some older generation zheng players also would like to learn the new music. Once when I was practising at Er Woo music group in Singapore, two old men said they wanted to learn. They asked me to show them the techniques and asked for the scores, even though they had difficulty in learning due to their age. An alternate development, that of a local Taiwanese style zheng music and repertory, gained popularity among a number of zheng musicians in 1990s. This is discussed later in the chapter.

musicians such as Cheng Teyuan to lament that they "followed blindly in the footsteps of Mainland China" (Cheng 1991). In this chapter, I trace the changes of zheng music through the three periods, and discuss the corresponding development in the history and politics of Taiwan.

3.2 History and Culture

Many books have been written about the history of Taiwan, and many sides of the story have been presented. Writings by Taiwanese can be pro-Nationalist or pro-independence.[6] Writings by Mainland Chinese can be highly critical of the Nationalist government, and pro-Unification (Ni 1996). Earlier writings by Japanese emphasise that the economic miracle of Taiwan comes from the achievements of the fifty years when Taiwan was a Japanese colony (Eto 1963). Writings by Westerners tend to be pro-Democracy and critical of the human rights records of the Nationalist government (Nadeau 1990). There are also many that are politically neutral. Fortunately, most writings agree on the main historical facts.

The majority of the Taiwanese population are descendants of people who have been there for over a period of a few hundred years (Chen Chiu-kun 1994). Most of them were immigrants from the Mainland, and there were also existing aboriginal tribes of Malayo-Polynesian, together with minority of Japanese and Westerners. Taiwan went through three major periods of colonisation before 1945: a period of European rule, a period of Chinese rule and a period of Japanese rule (Eto 1963).

[6] There are many writings on Taiwan on the World Wide Web that tend to be pro-Independence. One such website - www.leksu.com - contains a comprehensive account of Taiwanese history, but has the rather amusing habit of elaborating on every historical development that remotely supports the Independence of Taiwan. This website, which I accessed in 2001, has since been taken down.

In the sixteenth century, when Portuguese made the first sighting of the island, there were a small number of Chinese immigrants and aborigines. The aboriginal tribes were eventually either forced into the mountains, or intermarried with the Han Chinese. Around 1622, the Dutch took Taiwan from the Portuguese. The Dutch imported large numbers of immigrants from China to develop Taiwan agriculturally.

Around 1661, Mainland soldiers attacked Taiwan under the leadership of a Ming general, Cheng Ch'engkung 郑成功. The conquering forces remained, resulting in an increase of the Chinese population. In 1693, when Qing forces attacked Taiwan, they met with no resistance from the residents, and were able to occupy the island without bloodshed. Strict rules were implemented to restrict immigration to Taiwan to males only. In spite of this, the smuggling of immigrants to the fertile lands in Taiwan continued to increase. Intermarriages between Chinese and aborigines were widely practised. The aboriginal population decreased as a result, and many were eventually assimilated into the Chinese population.

In the first Sino-Japanese war in 1894-5, China was defeated (Worden, Savada and Dolan 1987: The Self-Strengthening Movement). On 17 April 1895, the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty, the Shimonoseki Treaty was signed, ceding Taiwan to Japan in perpetuity. In 1901, the Japanese began large-scale construction of irrigation facilities all over Taiwan, leading to a jump in agricultural production, contributing greatly to income tax (Eto 1963:49). Rice and sugar were two major products. Other infrastructure works include harbours, railroads, highways, communication networks, public health, and so on In particular, the Japanese invested heavily in education in Taiwan, in order to prepare the Taiwanese for the modern industry. Many schools were built, accelerated by the war

boom in the Japanese and Taiwanese economy during World War I.[7] These infrastructures placed Taiwan on the path to modernisation, and is likely to have contributed to the economic miracle of Taiwan under the Nationalist government.

Taiwanese and Mainlanders

When the Nationalist army and the final wave of mass migration came in 1949, they were able to build upon this existing economy. Mainland zheng musicians who came with this mass migration transplanted zheng music from the Mainland onto Taiwanese society. Nationalist government control of Taiwan started around 1945, when troops were stationed there. With their defeat by the Communist government in 1949, the Nationalist army fled to Taiwan, together with over one million (Mancall 1963:5) people from the Mainland. This very significant number was grafted on to the existing population in Taiwan at the time. The resulting population then had a majority of "Taiwanese", a term that commonly refers to people who lived in Taiwan for a few generations before 1949, and a minority of "mainlanders", people who came from the Mainland with the Nationalist government around 1949. The cultural differences and social issues persist today (Chang 1994). The original population was descended from ethnic groups in south China, mainly Fujian and Kejia. The immigrants came largely from northern China. The greatest impact of the Nationalist government must be felt from 1949 to 1987, when martial law was imposed and they were in almost full control. There is one principle that guided and was used to rationalise many of the government policies, and which deeply affected the course of zheng music development. This is the

[7] All teaching was in Japanese, not Chinese. My father, aunts, and many old people I knew who grew up during the Japanese colonial period could speak only Minnanese and Japanese, but very little Mandarin.

"the ideology of counterattack" (Mancall 1963:17), a declaration that the Nationalist government is the only legitimate government of China, and that they will one day attack the Mainland and recover control from the Communist government. Their sentiments about the illegitimate status of the Communist government led them to implement a "policy of 'three *nos*' with Beijing - no contact, no compromise, and no negotiation" (Kaplan 1992:478). Zheng music in Taiwan, together with many other social-economic developments, was thus isolated from the Mainland for close to forty years.

During the early martial law years, zheng music was practised mainly by mainlanders. Most of the famous zheng musicians, like Liang Tsaip'ing, Huang Tsungshih and Peter Liu Yichih 刘毅志 are mainlanders. It is easy to distinguish a mainlander from a Taiwanese from the accent. Today, by my own observation of the zheng musicians and students I have met and taught for more than ten years in Taiwan, and whom I subsequently interviewed when I returned for my fieldwork, there are more Taiwanese than mainlanders who practise zheng music. It is tempting to conclude from this that the zheng music is universal and has transcended ethnic barriers. However, the truth is likely to be more mundane. The Taiwanese who practise zheng music today are likely to belong to the new generation, and who took up zheng music largely out of interest or other social reasons.

Through education and other means, the Nationalist government imposed the northern Chinese language, Mandarin, and their Nationalist ideology on the Taiwanese (Chang 1994). Even Peking opera had been imposed on the Taiwanese over the local opera (Guy 1999). Zheng music, however, eventually came to be accepted by a significant part of the Taiwanese. The older generation of zheng musicians were largely

mainlanders. By 1990, when I left Taiwan, more than half of my students were Taiwanese. Superficially, it appears to have helped the Nationalist government in bridging the gap between mainlanders and Taiwanese, and converting the Taiwanese one step closer to the Nationalist cause. Unexpectedly, however, zheng music not only transcended the gap with mainlanders in Taiwan, but it went one step further and eventually transcended the gap with mainlanders on the Mainland also. I shall now look briefly into the historical origin of the ideology of the Nationalist government.

Nationalist Party

In the nineteenth century, Western and Japanese powers arrived China in large numbers and began requesting numerous concessions and secessions from the Qing rulers (Fairbank and Goldman 1998:235; Bai 2002:449; Worden, Savada and Dolan 1987:The Opium War, The Republican Revolution). These included rights to sell opium, rights to control parts of Shanghai, rights to colonise Taiwan, rights to rule Manchuria, etc. Population was increasing, and the Qing government was unable to provide an economic system to sustain this. Under these social and political conditions, Sun Yatsen, a revolutionary leader, was able to grow in popularity. He acted from overseas, and obtained generous funds from Overseas Chinese. He formulated his political philosophy in the early part of the twentieth century, and called it the *Sanmin Zhuyi* [Three Principles of the People]. The three principles are nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood.

The republican revolution on the Mainland broke out in 1911 (), and Sun Yatsen was inaugurated as the first president of the Republic of China, a name that Taiwan keeps

until today.[8] The political party formed by Sun's supporters is called *Guomindang* 国民党, literally Citizen's Party. It is more commonly known to the Western world as Kuomintang (e.g. Kaplan 1992), or KMT in short, and also came to be known as the Nationalist party. After arriving in Taiwan in 1949, the Nationalists began to receive large amounts of military and financial aid from the United States (Mancall 1963:17). Without this aid, Taiwan may not have remained defensible against the Communists on the Mainland, and zheng music in Taiwan could be very different. This lends some credence to Erlmann's (1993:4) remark that "we can no longer meaningfully talk about the music of a West African village without taking into consideration the corporate strategies of Sony, U.S. domestic policy and the price of oil".

Ironically, despite the "*three no's*" with the Mainland, the oft heralded economic miracle has eventually come to depend strongly on investments on the Mainland. The development of trade and other businesses with the Mainland via Hong Kong, despite the Nationalist ban on any contact, was to play an important role in facilitating contact between Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese zheng musicians during the martial law years. U.S. aid to Taiwan has always come from considerations of the political stability in the Asia Pacific region. On 25 June 1950 (Edwards 2003:6), the Korean War started and Taiwan came under the protection of the United States as a result of her strategic position in the Asia-Pacific (Maguire 2000:134). U.S. protection of Taiwan has continued until now, with the most recent "declaration" being President Bush's remark in 2001 that "Our nation will help Taiwan defend itself".[9] Materially and psychologically, the U.S. position

[8] The Mainland is named the People's Republic of China by the communist government.
[9] "Bush: Taiwan defense pledge no change in policy," *Inside Politics*, CNN, Apr 25, 2001. Internet http://www.cnn.com/2001/ALLPOLITICS/04/25/bush.taiwan.04/ Accessed on 28 May 2002.

has provided Taiwan with the stability needed to develop as if it were a nation-state.

For five decades, despite the myth maintained by the Nationalist government that they legitimately govern the whole of China, they have effectively developed Taiwan as a nation on its own, with clearly drawn boundaries along the Straits of Taiwan separating it from the Mainland. For five decades, the Communist government in the Mainland had largely left Taiwan alone, being troubled by its own problems such as the *Dayuejin* 大跃进 [Great Leap Forward] and the Cultural Revolution. With the rise in ethnic consciousness of the local Taiwanese, a pro-Independence movement took shape, culminating in what is sometimes heralded as "the first democratic transfer of power on Chinese soil" (The Economist: Mar 23, 2000) in year 2000. With the Mainland gaining stability and strength, both politically and economically, the Communist government began to focus its attention on Taiwan. Over the past few years, the stability of Taiwan has been threatened by missile exercises across the straits on the Mainland soil. During the period of insulation during the martial law years from 1949 to 1987, the Nationalist government had worked to create a homogeneous education, language, political allegiance, mass media, and a national narrative in Taiwan. The development of zheng music during this period was directly affected by the way in which the Nationalists governed Taiwan.

Ethnic Identity

In Taiwan, the concept of Chinese ethnic identity is sustained through a series of narratives, transmitted by parents, schools, media and the cultural environment. These narratives are relevant to zheng music in a number of ways. Many zheng musicians I

have interviewed have expressed that they feel a mission to "continue the tradition". The ethnic narrative permeates the perception of zheng music. Apart from using it to explain the motivation behind zheng music, it is often used as a guide to interpretation and expression. For instance, a number of zheng pieces have titles that are based on historical events or folk legends. The following three examples are taken from Hon (1982, 1987). One such title is *Yangguan Sandie*. A zheng teacher or a published score would provide an explanation that this was composed in the Tang dynasty for the lyrics of the poem by famous poet Wang Wei 王维. The poem is about the sadness Wang Wei felt when he bid his friend farewell on a long journey. This story is told not only among zheng musicians, but also among the Chinese people in general as a reminder of the importance of friendship. Another title, called *Qi Yan Hui*, is a lament by Confucius on student of his by the name of Yan Hui who died young. It is used to symbolise the bond between teacher and student. A third title, called *San Chuci* 散楚词, is based on the historical event in which Xiang Yu, a famous warrior, lost the battle over China to Liu Bang, founder of the Han dynasty. To most Chinese people, the factual truth of such narratives is often less important than their value as an inspiring story, often with a moral about what is right or wrong. These are narratives that are common to Chinese everywhere, whether it is the Mainland, Taiwan or Singapore. It provides a heritage the richness of which is considered worthy of preservation through national education in schools, or transmission by mass media in the form of dramas and films. The close similarity between such narratives[10] and the interpretation of zheng music suggests that the

[10] In fact, for four decades, people in Taiwan and Singapore have watched the same films and television drama series, produced and exported by the booming film industries in Taiwan and Hong Kong since 1960s.

continued transnational contact between zheng musicians in Taiwan, Singapore and the Mainland

could be motivated by a common ethnic identity.

National Identity

It is on such a cultural foundation that the Nationalist government built their nation. There is problem of ethnic diversity, but a common cultural history may have worked to their advantage. The languages of mainlander and Taiwanese may be different, but with the same written script and the education of the next generation in Mandarin, transmission of the mainlander's language seems successful. Today, most of the younger generation speak Mandarin, although many have a strong Taiwanese accent which remains as a distinguishing feature.[11] The national language education has succeeded to the extent that most Taiwanese today can speak and understand the same language. The national narrative is also sown with some success on the younger generation. Apart from teaching about ancient Chinese history to reinforce the idea that all Taiwanese originated from the Mainland, the Three Principles of the People are being taught in high schools (Davison and Reed 1999:199). The theme is written into the lyrics of the national anthem, and keywords grace the name of major roads,[12] just to be very sure that the message is brought across. Students are constantly reminded of the Ideology of Counterattack, that the Nationalist government is the only legal government of all China. "Our" map is the map of all China, and we learn that Taiwan is just one of the provinces. Within the confines of the locality created by the Nationalist government and

[11] The data in this paragraph comes from my own observation of Taiwanese society.
[12] For example, names such as *Sanmin Lu* 三民路 [Road of the Three Principles] and *Minquan Lu* 民权路 [Road of People's Rights] can be found in many cities.

enforced from 1949 to 1987, a significant proportion of the population have little else to compare with, and we spend our time worrying more about other aspects of life than politics.

Chinese Music

It should be mentioned that Chinese music in various forms had been popular in Taiwan well before 1949. During the Dutch period, Chinese operas were already transmitted to Taiwan from the Mainland (Xu and Zhang 1996:98). Many artistes arrived in the subsequent waves of migration. Two main opera forms were *gezaixi* 歌仔戏 [Taiwanese local opera] and *budaixi* 布袋戏 [puppet show]. Two other popular musical forms were *nanguan* 南管 [southern pipes] and *beiguan* 北管 [northern pipes]. *Nanguan* and *beiguan* had more emphasis on instrumental performances. They were also used to accompany opera forms that were based on their repertory and styles. *Beiguan*, for instance, was the opera music of northern China. It has fast rhythm, with loud and shrill melody, and was often used in weddings and funerals. It was likely to have been transmitted to Taiwan during the Qing dynasty. Instruments used included various types of drums and two-stringed fiddles, *qin*, *suona*, *xiao*, *dizi* and zheng. Repertory included compositions from Han, Tang and Song dynasties. It was used to accompany operas. *Beiguan* had been popular in Taiwan since early Qing dynasty. After 1949, more than a thousand *beiguan* groups appeared in Taiwan. Since zheng was part of *beiguan* instruments, it was likely to have been played in Taiwan since the Qing dynasty. Apart from opera and instrumental forms, various types of folk songs had been popular in Taiwan through the ages. These mainly originated from the Fujian and Kejia dialect

groups. Fujian folk songs such as *Tyi Or Or*[13] 天黑黑 [The Sky is Dark], *Soo Xiang Kee* 思想起 [Remembrance] and *Mang Chun Hong* 望春风 [Waiting for the Spring Wind] had remained popular for many generations. The last two had often been rearranged as zheng pieces and provided familiar melodies for zheng students.

3.3 Zheng Music: The Early Modern Period

3.3.1 The Nature of Zheng Music

In the following sections, I shall discuss various aspects of zheng music in Taiwan during the period from 1949 to 1980. The zheng music of this period was often dominated by the style of Liang Tsaip'ing. My own teacher and some of my interviewees in Taiwan had learnt under Liang at some time during their career. The control that Liang seemed to have over zheng music in Taiwan began to loosen when information about the Mainland zheng music started reaching Taiwan from about 1980. This information excited zheng musicians in Taiwan, and started the transition from sixteen to the twenty-one stringed zheng.

Scale and Keys

In the early modern period, zheng students in Taiwan learnt zheng music by listening to vinyl recordings, oral transmission and using the cipher notation. While most zheng music and Chinese music were played in the key of D or G, Liang Tsaip'ing (1979a,b) made use of a range of keys for his zheng compositions, as is common practise

[13] This and the following two are attempts at romanising the Minannese (or Fujian) pronunciation.

in Western music. He also rearranged music from *qin* and other Chinese instruments for the zheng. Except for a few isolated attempts at harmonising, zheng scores and recordings published during this period were largely melodic and monophonic. Instead, a different musical dimension, known as *yunwei* (section 2.3) to zheng musicians, existed (Zhao Yi 1992). This is largely related to the way that each note may be modulated using the left hand. Even the idea of naming the composer appears to be a fairly modern concept in zheng music. For most of the traditional pieces, the composers are unknown, and zheng musicians would freely modify them. In Liang Tsaip'ing (1979a,b), for instance, there are only two classes of zheng music, those composed by himself, and the traditional pieces whose composers are unknown.

Zheng repertory used largely the pentatonic scale. In the early modern period, most zheng music was in the key of G (see figure 2). This is obvious in Peter Liu (1972) in which staff notation is used. In Huang Tejui (1970) where cipher notation is used, the key in G is indicated on the top left-hand corner of the first page of the score of each piece of zheng music by the symbol G. As it was understood that a piece of zheng music was normally in G, there was no real need to indicate the key on the score. Instead, an indication of the starting string number could be more helpful, as is the case in Liang's scores.

Tempo and Rhythm

A study of Liang's rendition would give an overview of the general features of zheng repertory in the early modern period in Taiwan. The scores in the early modern period already show a basic structure that is fairly similar to Western scores. Notes of the

melody are arranged into bars and time signatures, which can be 2/4, 3/4 or 4/4, are indicated on the top left-hand corner. Tempo, however, is not indicated, and was left very much to the individual zheng musician to decide, based on his or her interpretation of the meaning of the piece.

Listening to a recording of Liang's performance, it soon becomes clear that he did not keep to a fixed rhythm. The time for each beat could vary from bar to bar, and is very much a part of his expression of the piece of zheng music. In Western music, the loudness is a dimension of the music that may be varied to control expression, indicated on music scores by symbols like *pp, mp, mf* and *ff*. In zheng music in the early modern period of Taiwan, rhythm provided an additional dimension for expression that might be varied rather freely. A zheng musician I have interviewed suggested that the reason for this flexibility in rhythm might be related to the use of *qin* music style by Liang. In *qin* music, the emphasis on feelings and imageries (Yip 1991:13) requires a flexibility of rhythm for added expressiveness in the music. Although this is seldom explained in books on *qin* music, I have personally taken *qin* lessons in Taiwan, and the teacher has explained the need to vary the tempo in order to express the appropriate feelings. This is also recognised as an additional dimension for Chinese music in general (Du 1995:3; Evans 1999; Liang Mingyue 1985:116). Variation in tempo, however, may not be present in all recordings on *qin* music, and is likely to depend on individual musicians. This feature of unsteady tempo in zheng music in the early modern period led to problems for zheng musicians during the later periods, when the need for stricter tempo became important. Some of my interviewees, who were trained during the early modern period, highlighted to me the difficulty in keeping time in zheng music today, particular

when they had to play in groups. I also share this experience.[14]

Fingering Techniques

Apart from the melody, the next obvious feature of the zheng score is the little markings to indicate fingering techniques, found on top of many of the notes (figure 4). The meanings of some of the symbols are explained in Appendix B. These annotations, however, have not been standardized, and may vary from author to author. There are about thirty of them in the early modern period (e.g. Liang Tsaip'ing 1979a), a number that increased significantly in later years. They may be broadly divided into those that do not require an obvious modification of the note, and those that do. The first group consists of symbols that indicate which right hand finger should pluck the string that corresponds to the note, and in which direction, inward or outward. There is a slight difference in the sound of the note that is discernible to the zheng musician, when different fingers are used, because of the difference and strength and angle of contact with the string. The second group consists of symbols that indicate how a note should be modified for the few seconds that it might still be heard after the string has been plucked.

Common examples of techniques used include *yinyin*, *rouyin*, *anyin* and *huayin*. *Yinyin* and *rouyin* are different degrees of vibrato, the former modulating a note within a semitone after plucking, the latter modulating it by as much as a second or a third interval *Huayin* is played by pressing the string to the left of the movable bridge, and plucking it with the right hand on the right of the bridge. There are two types. The string can be

[14] However, listening to recordings made around 1950 on the Mainland, it becomes apparent that music of other Chinese musical instruments also had unsteady tempo. On the other hand, *qin* pieces recorded in recent years show rather steady rhythm. One possible explanation is that this is a result of increasing influence of Western music, for which rhythm is important.

pressed after plucking. This causes the note to slide up, and is called *shanghuayin*. The string can also be pressed before plucking, and then released after plucking. This causes the note the slide down, and is called *xiahuayin*.

Expression

In particular, *yinyin* and *rouyin* occupied an important position in expressing *yunwei* (feeling) and giving meaning to traditional pieces. This is clear from interviews with older zheng musicians, from their recordings, and from my own learning experiences towards the end of the early modern period. This issue has also been written about extensively by Mainland zheng musicians (e.g. Gao 1994). In practise, it is likely to be related to the fact that the zheng music in the early modern period is more monophonic, shorter and slower compared with the zheng music today. The reason is that *yinyin* and *rouyin* have to modify the note for the few seconds after it is plucked, during which the loudness of the note would quickly decrease with time. In order for the effect to be heard clearly, it would be better that a second voice or harmony is not present In order for this to play an important role in expression, if the note lasts longer the nuances of the vibrato would be more clearly conveyed, and this means that the music has be slower. In the modern zheng music, zheng music places much greater emphasis on harmony and virtuosity. The additional voice or harmony and the faster speed of much of the zheng music today is thus likely to result in *yinyin* and *rouyin* becoming less used among zheng students and performers.

Phrasing is not indicated on the score in the early modern period (e.g. figure 5(a)), in contrast with some of the scores of the later periods in which they may be clearly

indicated (e.g. figure 6(a)). To zheng students and musicians in the early modern period, phrasing is likely to be an unfamiliar concept. In place of this and Western concepts such as crescendos, diminuendos and tempo, expressions may be indicated by Chinese characters with meanings of feelings in various parts of the scores, though this would become more extensive only in the later periods. Translating these "feelings" indicators into musical expression is a highly complex process for the zheng musician. An understanding of Chinese culture and history, together with a good "musical sense" plus some leaps of imagination, would often help. It was a skill that was emphasised in the early modern period, but is gradually being replaced by Western style expression.

3.3.2 Zheng Performance

The Occasions

Concerts were often given during festive seasons, such as *Zhengshe Zhounianqing* 箏社周年庆 [Annual Concert of Yang's zheng class], Christmas (photo 10) or the Chinese New Year. This appeared to be a cultural norm in Taiwan. During festive seasons, people seemed to want to be reminded of their ethnic origin, through observing Chinese rituals and listening to traditional music (Li Ping-hui 1996), among other cultural activities. By participating in the festive celebrations, zheng music performance became part of the rituals that contribute to the ethnic narrative. Although performance played a significant role in bridging the gap between zheng musicians and audience coming from the society at large, it was not the major source of income for zheng musicians in the early modern period. The main income was from teaching of students. This economic arrangement was likely to have impacted on zheng music development. By encouraging

zheng teachers to teach more students, it increases the rate of transmission of zheng music. Ultimately, it links zheng music to the rest of the economy in Taiwan. The large increase in popularity of zheng music around the period of the "Economic Miracle" of Taiwan might have been a result of this.[15] This period of economic prosperity gave people time and money so that they could afford to take up leisure pursuits.

Photo 10. The concerts of Yang Ronghui's zheng classes.[16]

[15] Peter Liu (1972:1) mentions that from 1961 to 1972, his zheng classes had coached a total of 4,000 students. Jung (1979:13) estimates that by 1978, there were over 100,000 zheng students in Taiwan. It is difficult to judge the accuracy of these figures. However, around 1980, since I start learning zheng, I did notice many zheng classes and students in Tainan, and the popularity continued to increase well into the 1990s.

[16] (Top left and righ): Mr Yang's 10th anniversary concert at *Yule Tang* 育乐堂, Tainan, 1981. (Bottom left): Mr Yang's 16th anniversary and also his birthday party in 1987. (Bottom right): Yang was seated in

Photo 11. Concert for the Appreciation of *qin* and *zheng* by Prof. Liang Tsaip'ing and Dr. Liang Mingyue [17]

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the middle, playing the *erhu*. The author is standing in the middle, singing. At *Tainan Kaishanlu Tianzhu Jiaotang* 台南开山天主教堂 [the Catholic church at Kaishan Road in Tainan], around 1981.

[17] *Liang Tsaip'ing Jiaoshou & Liang Mingyue Boshi Qin Zheng Xinshanghui* 梁在平教授 & 梁铭越博士琴箏欣赏会 [Concert for the Appreciation of *qin* and *zheng* by Prof. Liang Tsaip'ing and Dr. Liang Mingyue] at the Tainan *Wenhua Zhongxin* at the Tainan *Wenhua Zhongxin* 台南文化中心 [Tainan Cultural Centre] in 1986. Performers donned traditional Chinese costumes for the occasion. (Top) Yang was seated in the centre and the author was on the second of the rear row from right. (Bottom) Front row, third from right was Ling Mingyue, followed by Liang Tsaip'ing, Yang Ronghui, Wei Tei-Don, Wei Tei-Liang. Back row, first from left was T'an Chungchüan.

Performances of zheng music were often initiated by a small number of zheng musicians, who would also take on the task of organising them. Each performance had the form of a concert in the Western sense. In the case of my teacher Yang Ronghui, the venue might be in a Catholic Church or an auditorium next to the public library in Tainan, or a dedicated concert hall in the city's cultural centre. For a few months before the concert, regular practises would be held to prepare for the concert. Much effort would be made to ensure that everything ran smoothly during the concert. There could be a few reasons for such caution. One is that contact with the audience had to take place in the short space of a few hours, and seldom more than a few times a year. Although the audience would only be a very small part of the society, they would bring away with them an impression of the concert, whether good or bad, which would be spread to other members of the society. The economic arrangement of zheng music is such that students are free to choose their teachers. The impression created by the performance would influence the decision of potential students. This would directly affect the livelihood of the zheng musician who had organised the concert.

Concert Arrangements

A few weeks before the performance, Yang would announce the performance time and venue to the public. For small concerts held in the Catholic Church where Yang's classes were located, this would be through the church newsletters. For large concerts when Liang Tsaip'ing was invited, Yang would inform the newspaper and television station. Reporters would come to interview Yang about the concerts, and articles about the performances would soon appear in the newspapers. Apart from

rehearsal, we had to prepare Chinese style banners with words of the festive season and the name of Yang's zheng society, to decorate the stage on the day of the performance. We would wear traditional Chinese costumes (photos 10 and 11). These costumes were either hired or tailor made when the right design or sizes were not available. Not every student could afford these costumes, but Yang insisted on their necessity. This attention to traditional costumes reflected a conscious effort to suggest to the audience that the music they were going to listen was Chinese and ancient, just like the costumes.

The zhengs would be arranged on the stage beforehand. There were typically two to eight of them. They would be arranged in a way that the audience would have full view of all of the performers, who were usually more women than men. The performers would check the tuning of the instruments to ensure that all zhengs are in tune, and then proceed to the back stage to await the arrival of the audience. Depending on the type of concert, tickets might or might not be sold. For instance, in Yang's case, no ticket would be sold if it were a small concert held during a festive season, such as Christmas. After the audience were seated, the performers would come on stage and walk to their respective zhengs in an orderly manner, greeted by applause from the audience. Then the leader would nod to signal the start of the music. Ten to twenty pieces of music would be performed, with applause and pause in between pieces, performed over a period of about one hour, and an interval of five to ten minutes in the middle for the audience to stretch themselves or go the restrooms. During performance, the audience would remain silent and listen to the music. The whole process appeared almost like a ritual in that the co-operative and orderly manner of the audience was the same in every concert. We knew many in the audience as they were often friends and relatives of the performers.

Programme Notes

Upon arrival at the zheng concert venue, each of the audience would be provided with a printed program. The programme would indicate the organisation holding the concert, the names of the performers, and the titles of each piece performed, with commentaries on their meanings and origins (e.g. figure 7(a)). The programme notes in themselves make an interesting study of the ethnic narrative, and they were actually used by the performers themselves to understand the music that they play, as I shall discuss in the next section. The following are examples of different programme notes in the early modern period for the same piece of zheng music, *Hanya Xishui*:

1. In a performance in Taipei, capital city of Taiwan, at 8 p.m. on 28 March 1955, the Chinese programme contained a partial English translation. The title for this piece of music was translated as "Winter Birds Sporting over the Stream". The explanatory note for this piece was in Chinese, and stated that: "This is the most famous ancient music for zheng. It describes feathery dresses[18] dancing gracefully over the cold stream. The bird songs are nostalgic and thought provoking." The English wordings indicated that this performance was organised by The Chinese Classical Music Society to celebrate The Twelfth Anniversary of Youth Festival. There were altogether twelve pieces of music, performed by a number of Chinese musical instruments, with only one piece of zheng music, performed by Liang Tsaip'ing and his daughter.

2. In another performance in Taipei on Monday 19 November 1973, the programme contained an English translation. This time, the title was translated as "Winter Ravens

[18] Of crows, but possibly hinting at ladies.

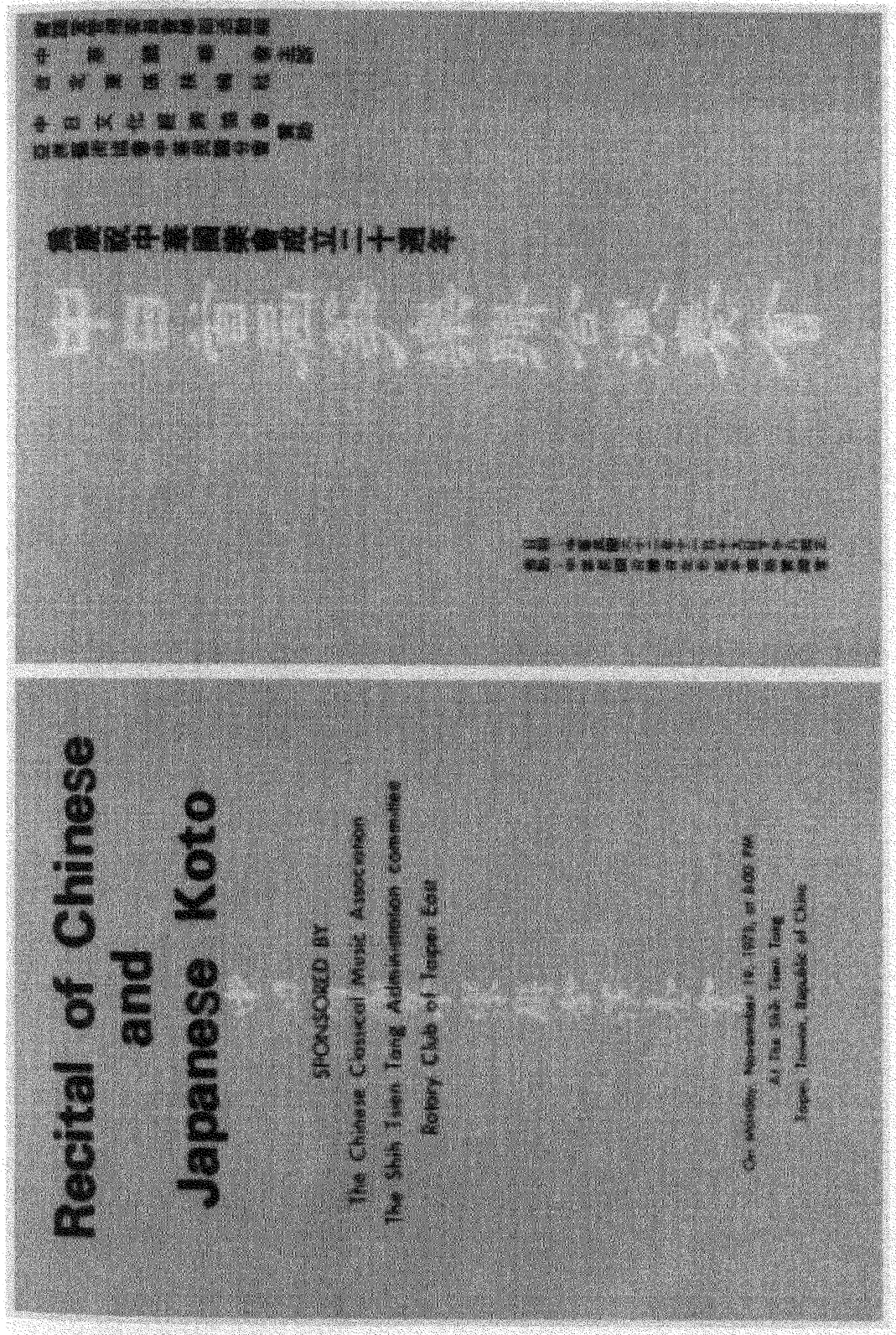

Figure 7.(a)(i) Cover pages of a zheng concert program

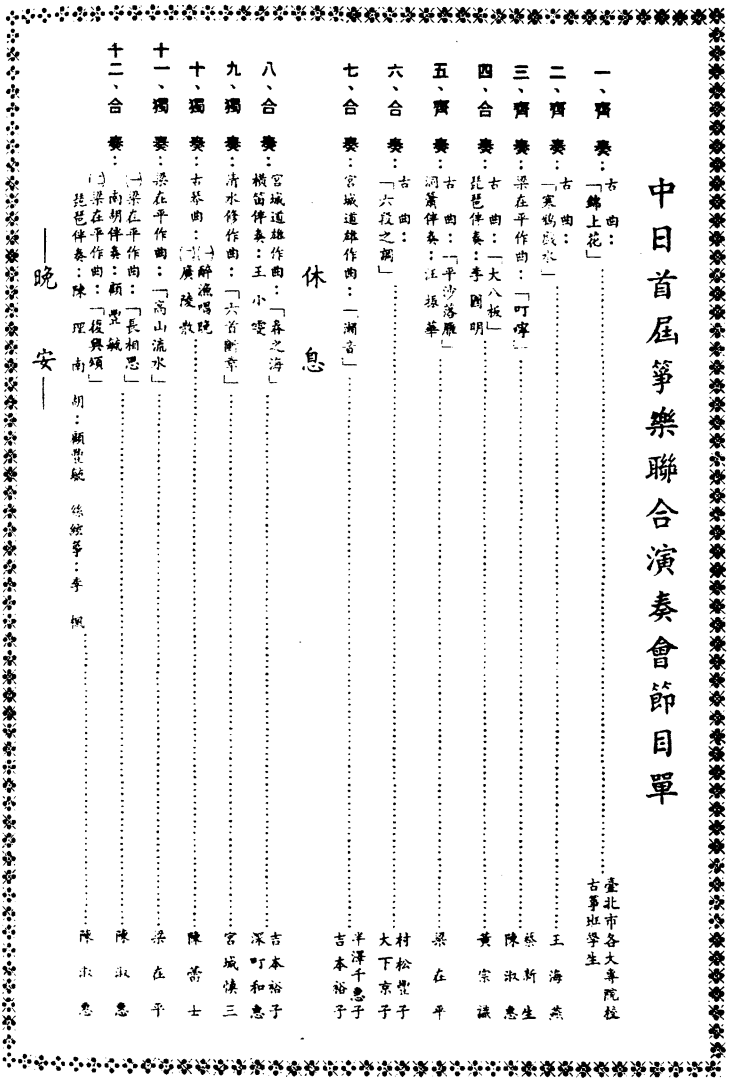

Figure 7. (a)(ii) Chinese version of the program.

PROGRAM NOTES OF CHENG PIECES

Flowers on Brocade

This piece is handled down from Ming Dynasty which is to describe the colorful melodies from the song of songs. Prof. Liang has composed two line poems for the beauty of this piece as "Musical brocade weaved by ivory-like fingers and melodic flowers performed by two tender hands." "Flowers On Brocade" has chosed as the main theme in the color and sound educational film named". The Melody of Ancient China" which produced by the Harmon Foundation, 1946.

Winter Ravens Sporting Over the Lake

This is a North China folk song of the 10th century which describes a lonely raven helplessly hovering over the water. At last, another raven comes to join her mate. Thus, they begin to sing joyfully and finally disappear together beyond the horizon.

Lover's Reiteration

This is a new composition by Prof. Liang which describing the repeated admonitions and advices from lovers who is away from home. Chanting voice of heart is repeated in this song.

Ta Pa Pen

Ta Pa Pen, or traditional 8 beats, is one of most famous melody of Cheng pieces of Swatow, or Chaochow. It represents the standard finger techniques with varieties of beats which composed with 68 beats. Beginning slowly and then proceeding into quick rhythm, it is really enjoyable when it performed with two instruments, the P'i-p'a and the Cheng.

Wild Geese Alighting On The Sandy Shore

This is the sister-piece of the "Flowers On Brocade" from Ming Dynasty. It is to describe the beauty of nature which painted by group of geese flying up and down over the sandy shore under the sunset.

Rokudan no Shirabe: by Yatsuhashi Kengyo (1613-1685)

Kengyo was a high official title given to blind persons of achievement. This is one of the two best known koto pieces, and is purely instrumental. The name means "music in six sections". Each section contains 52 bars of 2/4 time, with a brief two bar introduction, and presents the elegant basic

Figure 7. (a)(iii) Commentaries in the concert program.

Figure 7. (b) One of the advertisements in the program.

Sporting Over the Lake". There was an English version of the commentary: "This is a North China folk song of the 10th century which describes a lonely raven helplessly hovering over the water. At last, another raven comes to join her mate. Thus they beginto sing joyfully and finally disappear beyond the horizon." The Chinese version

mentioned the period of origin as Song dynasty, and described the piece as consisting of two sections and one epilogue. Otherwise, it appears closer to the 28 March 1955 performance compared to the English version. The programme (figure 7(a)(i)) indicated that this was a Recital of Chinese and Japanese *Koto*, sponsored by the Chinese Classical Music Association (same as The Chinese Classical Music Society above) and two other organisations, that this was the "The First Joint Concert of Chinese Cheng and Japanese Koto". Half of the performance was in fact on the Japanese *koto*; the *koto* master Shinzo Miyagi with his five students were invited from Japan (photo 12)..

Photo 12. Joint concert of Chinese Cheng & Japanese Koto.[19]

3. In a performance in Taipei on 20 February 1976, the programme was in Chinese. The programme note for *Hanya Xishui* was similar to that on 19 November 1973. It

[19] Seated fourth from the left is Shinzo Miyagi and followed Liang Tsaip'ing and Louis Chen. (Liang Tsaip'ing 1987:48).

contained additional explanation about the unusual use of semitones to simulate the call of the crows, and mentioned that this piece had been released on vinyl record.

It was not unlikely that *Hanya Xishui* has indeed been mentioned in some Chinese text as having originated from the tenth century. For the purpose of this thesis, however, it is more important to note the intention to emphasise its ancient origin. The description about the birds is likely to be Liang Tsaip'ing's interpretation of the title of the piece, and forms an important hint to the meaning of the piece for both students of zheng music and audience of the performance. The differences between the above versions show the relative freedom and arbitrariness in creating music meaning. The ancient origin of the piece claimed by the programme notes presented this piece as symbolic of the Chinese ethnic identity. By attending this performance, the audience reaffirmed their own identity with the ethnic group that produced this piece of music. The need for descriptive meaning in zheng music arose out of a mutual need for both zheng musicians and audience not only to relate to one another, but also to identify themselves as part of the Chinese ethnic group. In Taiwan, zheng programme notes generally did not carry any political overtone,[20] and zheng music was transmitted in Taiwan without much interference from the Nationalist government. In contrast, zheng music from the Mainland emphasised strongly its political role, and this made it very sensitive to the Taiwanese government during the transitional period from 1981 to 1987.

[20] An exception was the 28 March 1955 performance, which was highly political in the emphasis on patriotism in the programme notes. This could have been the case for the first few years after 1949.

Good Performance

A number of important points about good performance were summarised by Liang Tsaip'ing in his collection of zheng scores (1979a:23). They show the meticulous and strategic planning that went into a zheng performance during the early modern period:

1. It is better to have accompaniment by other instruments, such as *xiao* and *erhu*, and not place all load on the zheng during performance.
2. Both traditional and modern pieces should be performed, with the former first. To create a climax, the best piece should be played at the end. Additional pieces should
3. be prepared for encore.
4. A backing zheng should be prepared beforehand, in case the strings snap during performance.
5. Lighting and sound amplifiers should be carefully adjusted. Too loud or too soft will not be good.
6. Heat from strong lighting can cause steel strings to go out of tune, so it is best to tune on stage before sitting down to perform.
7. Pieces should be arranged in order according to keys [e.g. D G C F B^b] to minimise shifting of bridges in between pieces.
8. In other countries like Hong Kong, inviting advertisements on programme notes helps to defray costs. In Taiwan where usually entry is not charged, advertisement is a good idea (e.g. figure 7(b)).
9. Just before performance, there should one final rehearsal to avoid panic. If possible, the performer should take an afternoon nap on day of performance [to ensure that he

or she is well rested].

Students of zheng music have more than one choice of teachers or zheng classes, and to influence this choice, performance becomes one of the important means for presenting the best of a zheng class to the rest of the society. Much attention to preparation is therefore necessary for a performance to be successful. The supply and demand of zheng music, mediated by performances, were often motivated by the desire for an ethnic narrative. Such a desire arose from the need for a sense of ethnic identity,[21] and such a need inevitably conflicts with the need of nationalism. The large increase in interest in zheng music in the early modern period of Taiwan was likely to be the result of a need for ethnic identity, facilitated by a booming economy. It was this same need that led to conflict with the Nationalist government when Mainland zheng music, with its political overtones, started arriving at Taiwan during the transitional period. The need for identity, manifested for instance in the invention of tradition, has often been pointed out in sociological literature (Hall 1992b; Hobsbawm 1983).

3.3.3 Learning Zheng Music

The learning of zheng music is one of the important indicators of the rate of development of zheng music. It is common among zheng musicians to judge the level of popularity of zheng music by looking at the number of students learning zheng music (Liu 1972:1; Rong 1979:13). It is therefore necessary to understand the learning process

[21] For a discussion on the need for identity, see for example Hall (1992b). According to Hall: "Identity arises, not so much from the fullness of identity which is already inside us as individual, but from a *lack* of wholeness which is 'filled' from *outside us*, by the ways we imagine ourselves to be seen by *others*." Hall goes on to highlight the importance of identity in a number of contexts, such as the national, the ethnic, etc.

of zheng music in the early modern period in Taiwan. In the West, there is the formal learning process whereby students pay money to attend lessons which are structured from easy to difficult, conducted by a teacher qualified by certain recognised examination systems (e.g. the Royal Schools of Music examinations in England), and the students would eventually take similar examinations themselves. In the case of zheng music, students would pay to learn from teachers who may or may not have any form of qualification, and lessons are organised from easy to difficult. As students progressed to more difficult pieces, they were expected to be able to improvise, not so much in the actual melody of the music, but in interpretations and expression which, as mentioned earlier, in the absence of harmony, provided equally significant parameters of the music.

Talents

Talent is often considered necessary by some zheng teachers I have interviewed, for students to be able to learn zheng music well. In some other cultures like the Shona, it is believed that mbira musicians learn new pieces with the help of spirits through dreams (Berliner 1981:86). This is similar to the belief in talent in that the possession of musical ability cannot be explained rationally in either case. In the West, it is also commonly believed that only a small number of people are capable of becoming musicians (Blacking 1973:8). Such belief does not appear to affect the intake of students significantly, but it does mean that zheng musical ability is concentrated in a small number of people, and also partly has explained the existence of the master status in zheng music, as well as zheng teachers in general. This belief in innate talent therefore not only has led to the teacher-student mode of transmission in zheng music, but also to

the creation of zheng teachers as a profession and specialisation in the Taiwanese society. Zheng teachers are economically productive, and they have produced not only the musical skills of students, but the transmission of culture and ethnic narrative, in the form of performances and the next generation of zheng teachers. The importance assigned to the master status, also means that zheng masters are capable of influencing the rate of development of zheng music by generating a large following of students in a relatively short time, just as Liang Tsaip'ing did during the early modern period of zheng music.

Teachers

Another factor that influenced the development of zheng music is the rate at which zheng teachers are produced. In order to understand this, it is necessary to know the criterion that determined whether a zheng teacher is qualified. In Western music, a paper qualification awarded by a widely recognised examination body, such as the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, in the form of, say, a diploma in piano instruction, would qualify a piano teacher to teach piano. In zheng music, however, the meaning of "qualify" is less clear. A statement made by Yang when I got married and moved to live in Singapore gave some hint to this meaning. He said that when I went to Singapore, I should "hang up a sign [for zheng music classes], and the students would come." Apart from the obvious assumption that there would be interest in zheng music in any Chinese society, this statement also suggested that anyone with enough confidence to teach might teach. If this were the case, then the only way to determine if a zheng teacher was "qualified" was from whether his or her zheng classes could be sustained for a long period, and from the quality of the music performed by his or her students. Thus

the zheng teacher had to be judged through the recognition that was given by the students and other zheng musicians.

Class Organisation

Organisation of zheng classes is another factor in the development of zheng music. It seems to be designed with the intention of allowing the largest possible number of students to achieve competence in zheng music in the shortest possible time. This is clear from an observation of class schedules and teaching materials evolved over the years (e.g. Ch'en Hsinhua 1986; Wei and Wei 1997). The economic role of the zheng teaching as a profession encourages such behaviour, but then zheng teaching may not have been possible without a culture that needs zheng music. Zheng teaching consists of a written and an oral component. The written component comprised a collection of scores on fingering technique exercises and zheng pieces. The oral tradition is made up of the rest of zheng music that is difficult to write down, such as intricacies of manipulations in right hand techniques (e.g. angles of plucking), nuances of expressions in left hand techniques (e.g. vibratos), and meanings and expressions of zheng music. The line between the written component and the oral component is not a clear or rigid one. In the early modern period, the written component tended to be simple, consisting only of the items described above for the written component, as evidenced by scores such as Peter Liu (1972) and Huang Tejui (1973). In later periods in Taiwan and the Mainland zheng publications began to include more and more detailed explanations about fingering techniques, meanings and expressions (e.g. Wang and Wang 1996).

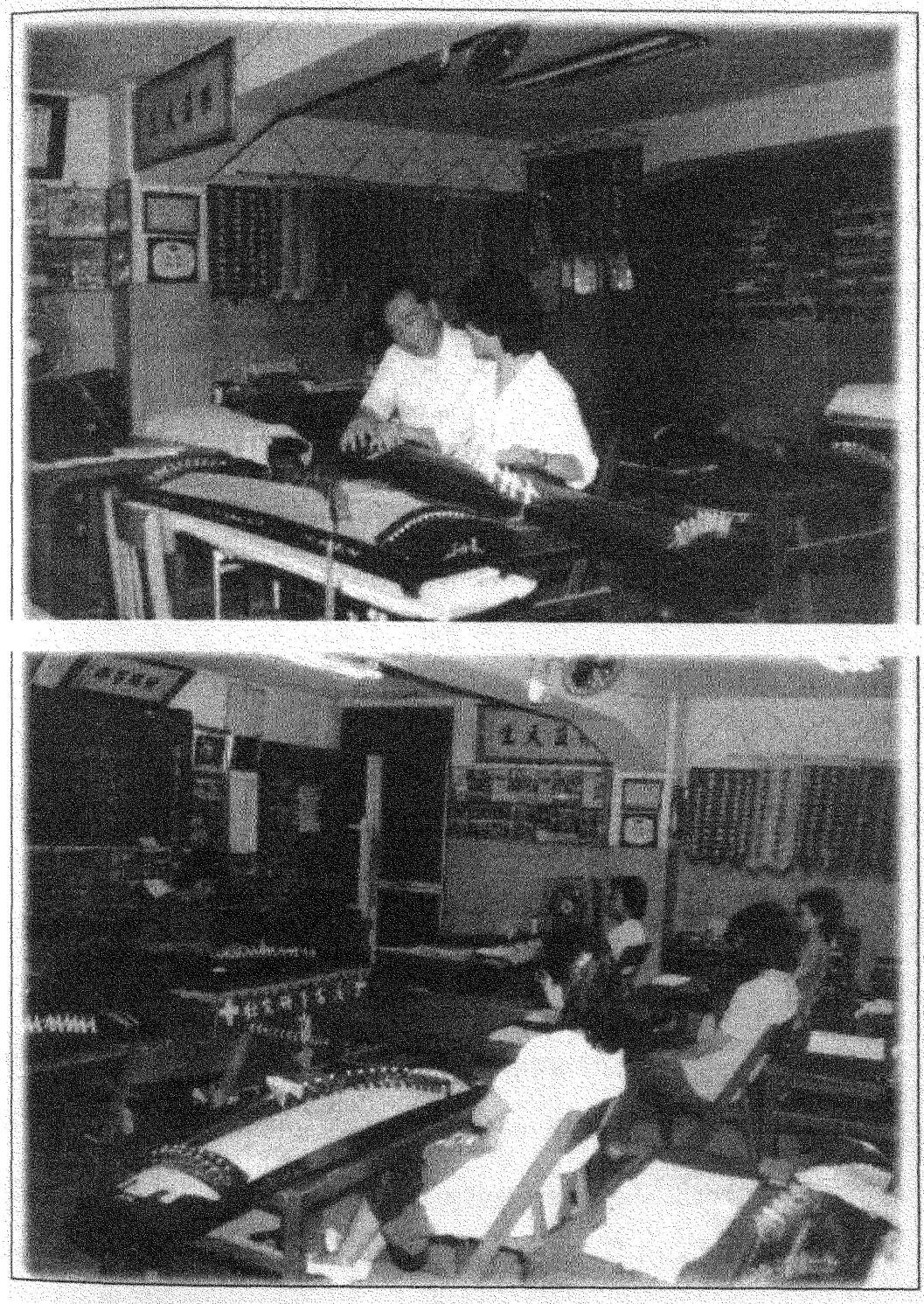

Photo 13. Yang Ronghui's zheng class[22]

[22] Top: Yang teaching the author. Bottom: The author playing the zheng on the left. (Photos taken by Yang Ronghui in Tainan around 1982.)

Zheng classes are divided into a number of different levels, depending on zheng teachers, such as beginners, intermediate and advanced classes. The number of students in each class varies widely, ranging from one or two, to ten or twenty students, with one teacher (see photo 13). Each class is typically held in a room sufficiently large to hold the required number of zhengs, with each student is seated at a zheng with a score on a music stand in the front, and the zhengs arranged neatly in rows.

Teaching

In the case of Yang, he would take the lead to play the music on the score phrase by phrase, and the student would follow. After that, the students would play the music on their own, in synchrony; he would go around checking their postures and fingering techniques. At the same time, he would explain the musical expression in terms of images and symbols- often supporting or illustrating with Chinese poetry and other art forms.

Not all Taiwanese students are familiar with Chinese literature and art forms; but even for those who are, it is difficult to grasp its relation to playing techniques and expression in zheng music. In later periods and on the Mainland, there appears to be a trend towards more mechanistic explanations about zheng music expressions (e.g. Wang and Wang 1996), in terms of strength of plucking, pitch modulation in vibratos, etc. However, understanding in terms of Chinese literature and art forms remained an important part of the characteristic of zheng music. This mode of understanding zheng music is intimately related to its role as an ethnic narrative.

Production of Identity

Learning of zheng music is thus a major process in the production of ethnic identity. It is the setting where a version of the ethnic "past" is transmitted to the rest of the society by the zheng teachers. The inevitable conflicts with the Nationalist government that arose in times when the interests of ethnicity and nationalism diverged, and were part of the wider ethnic problem that nations worldwide had to cope with. The support or discouragement of the government had therefore played a key role in the rate of development of zheng music.

Figure 8. Certificate of gold medal[23]

[23] Award to Liang Tsaip'ing (1979a) by the Taiwan Ministry of Education in 1964. The award also included a sum of money of NT20,000.

Zheng music was viewed with approval by the Taiwanese government in the early modern period, as evidenced by a gold medal award to Liang Tsaip'ing by the Ministry of Education (figure 8). On the whole, however, zheng music seemed to be largely a spontaneous activity of the people, as the large increase in student numbers in the early modern period shows, and which the government allowed to go on without much interference until the appearance of Mainland zheng music around 1981. Thus the government approved in so far as zheng music served the Nationalist cause, by preserving the traditional Chinese values that the Nationalist government wanted to represent to the international community,[24] and perhaps by engaging the people in peaceful activities. In reality, however, zheng music had always been part of the ethnic narrative. As such, it transcended national boundaries and, despite government efforts to the contrary, the eventual acceptance and practise of Mainland zheng music was largely inevitable. The Nationalist government passively used zheng music as a nationalising tool, and remained passive until they had to take active control when conditions were changed by the increasing amount of unofficial communication with the Mainland.

3.3.4 The Expression of Zheng Music

Feeling

In this section, the concept of *yijing* - a way of understanding and expressing zheng music, is discussed. In the early modern period, there was very little emphasis on Western music theory in zheng teaching, however, this has changed in the later periods. Ideas of rhythms, scales, meter, intervals and phrasing were seldom taught explicitly.

[24] One important example is Peking opera, which used to be heavily sponsored by the government (Guy 1999).

Rhythms, meter and phrasing were presumably hidden under the heading of musical expression, which was in turn articulated in terms of Chinese literature and art forms. This may be why zheng music seems difficult to understand for zheng students. It is often said by zheng teachers that the "feeling" is important, and teachers would try hard to explain the expression of certain phrases in graphic terms, such as how a particular melody should sound like the waves beating on the shore. It is then left to the student to think about how to adjust his or her rhythm and phrasing in such a way that the music would in some way match the characteristic of the waves. During this learning stage, the role of the zheng teacher is important to serve as a guide and critique on whether the students' expressions are correct.

Yijing

Some of my interviewees in Taiwan talked about the close relationship between zheng music and *qin* music in the earlier period. *Qin* is a Chinese instrument with a long, scholarly history since ancient China (Liang Mingyue 1985:197). Much of Liang Tsaip'ing's zheng music was adapted from *qin* music. The extensive borrowings mean that some understanding about *qin* music can be useful for a discussion of zheng music symbols. Of relevance to zheng music is the concept of *yijing*. This is a difficult word to translate. *Yi* 意 in this context could mean thought, and *jing* 境 could mean environment. Thus *yijing*, or "thought environment", is essentially what a *qin* or zheng musician would think about and convey to the discerning audience when he or she performs a piece. It is what the music symbolises.

Yijing and expression in zheng music are normally articulated in terms of Chinese literature and art forms. Most commonly used is Chinese poetry, an observation that is readily made through my own experience in Taiwan and through interviewees. In the Chinese societies in Taiwan, the Mainland and Singapore, poetry, particularly poetry written during the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-907), is one of the most widely known forms of classical Chinese literature. It could be because Tang poetry (Waley 1946) often combined elegance and brevity with the use of simple Chinese characters, and is thus especially suited for elementary school education in any Chinese society. In Taiwan and Singapore, Tang poetry can be found in school textbooks for children below ten years of age.

Ancient Poems

Yang said that Liang Tsaip'ing told him that *yijing* was very important when playing zheng music, and that reading ancient Chinese poems would help to improve such feelings. An example of such a poem was written by Bai Juyi in the Tang Dynasty, in the year AD 816. The poem describes how he met a young lady who played the *pipa* (Myers 1992), a Chinese instrument that is similar in shape to a lute. There is a phrase in the poem which was used often by zheng teachers: *dazhu xiaozhu luoyupan* 大珠小珠落玉盘. It literally means "large pearls and small pearls falling on a jade plate". Some of my teachers liked to use this phrase when they taught me zheng expression. For instance they would say that a particular melody must "give the feeling of pearls falling on a plate". What they meant was that: every note must be short, loud and clearly separated from the next one, like staccatos on a violin. More importantly, the notes must be

uniform. Then the melody would be crisp and clear.

The zheng student possibly received his or her first introduction to zheng symbols from descriptive titles. Titles often hinted at the required *yijing* of a piece, and served as an important guide to expression. Examples include: *Zhan Taifeng* [Battling against the Typhoon], *Fangzhi Mang* 纺织忙 [Busy Weaving], *Fengshou Luogu* 丰收锣鼓 [Harvest Drums], etc. Such titles were suggestive of the composers' intended feelings. What they suggested would often be appreciated by considering their connotations in the Chinese language. This often meant a related poem, historical fact, or cultural activity. They provided essential guidance to both teachers and students, as to how a piece of zheng music should be played. Each phrase in a piece would be thought of either as a part of a sequence of actions, or part of scenery, or both. The exact meaning could often be assigned freely by the individual interpretation of the zheng musician. Interpretations were, therefore, not unique.

Meaning

The composer has considerable influence over interpretation within a piece. This can be in the form of expression indicators here and there, or in the form of subheadings as in *Chunjiang Huayueye*. He could even add a commentary at the end of the score to describe what he thought the music should symbolise. Even if the composer did not do so, other zheng musicians who published the score might feel free to add in their own interpretations (e.g. Ch'en 1986; Shi 1996; Chuang and Chong 1994, 1997). This is quite common. Hints to interpretation by the individual musician can be obtained from the title, score and commentary. When it comes to detailed interpretation of each phrase in

the melody, it is necessary to examine the melody and look for attributes that can be related in some ways to the symbol. This may be from the size of the intervals, shape of the melodic contours, appearance of incidentals (of Chinese music, like the note *si* – seventh – in *Chunjiang Huayueye*), nature of the rhythm, etc.

This practise has provided the musician and student with a mental framework that is easy to grasp. With this framework, the performer would know when and what to express, and can even make up new expressions along the way. This also explains why it is possible for zheng musicians to sound quite different when playing the same piece. Different melodies can represent the same symbol. For example, the melodies in *Chunjiang Huayueye* and *Gaoshan Liushui* are quite different. Yet, both are associated with water by their titles. There is also no way for a zheng student who hears *Chunjiang Huayueye* for the first time to know that it will represent water. However, he has to learn the interpretation first, from the book or from the teacher, before he would feel comfortable about truly appreciating the music. That is, he would then "understand" the music. The symbols can be images, scenes, objects, and battles. They can be love, patriotism, animals, and anything the composer may conjure up. Melodies with fast tempo are more likely to be used for jubilant mood than melancholic ones. In general, there is considerable freedom in making associations with symbols.

Teaching

The habit of expressing music symbolically often influences the way of teaching of zheng musicians. My experiences of learning under both my teachers in Taiwan and in Hong Kong have provided a good illustration. Yang, my teacher in Taiwan, is deeply

influenced by his teacher, Liang Tsaip'ing, and would often repeat Liang's teaching. Liang was also influenced the criteria he used to judge to beauty of the music. According to Yang, Liang said, "One must understand both the content and background of a piece of music". Yang would patiently explain the meaning behind a piece of music, and the "reasons" why the composer had written it. Zheng musicians would often think that knowing the background of a piece will help them to play well. Background here really means the symbolism. When I learnt the piece *Gaoshan Liushui*, Yang explained how, Liang "flowed the water". He asked me to imagine the water flowing past many big boulders, visualise the resistance of the boulders and the swirling water. It would seem that I was supposed to understand, from just this description alone, how to play the music correctly.

In fact, it is difficult for a zheng student to understand how such descriptions can help one to play well. It took me much time to get used to such explanations, and then only after observing Yang's own performance at length. A smooth flow of water would mean a straight-line motion of a finger stroking over a number of strings. Rolling water means that the thumb and finger should be flicked round and round over the string. That is supposed to give a corresponding feeling to the music. It is not enough just to describe the finger motion directly and leave out the water. The reason is that flowing water is varied and random. If it is just a repetitive mechanical motion, it will be lifeless. There should be variation in strength while playing. Yang would say, "This is a small stream here in this part of the melody and the water flows more slowly there than in the other part." Describing finger posture, angles, strength, rhythm, speed, directly should be possible, and can definitely complement teaching with symbols. While this is getting

more common today (e.g. Wang and Wang 1996), it was not done in the early modern period in Taiwan.

Some zheng musicians emphasise elegance in feeling, so they might not be willing relegate the entire conception of the music to mechanical movements alone. Also, it might be difficult to do so. At the elementary level where basic techniques, such as general postures and directions in plucking and pressing the strings, were taught, mechanistic explanations were often adequate, and symbolism was not necessary. At the advanced level, expression of feelings in the music became important. This involved subtle variations in strength and time between plucking of different strings, and during *anyin*. Zheng musicians paid special attention to and would distinguish by ear fleeting details of the musical sound that vanished in fractions of a second. It would be difficult to describe mechanical motions to such fine detail, and even more difficult to follow the instructions even if they were written down. It would be much easier, say, to imagine some natural processes like flowing water. Zheng teachers might not say faster here, or weaker there when they explained how to play a melody. They would normally encourage the student to "feel" the flowing water for himself in the music.

This section provides a brief discussion on the concept of *yijing* which is central to an understanding of zheng music. Although the discussion was based on data from the early modern period of Taiwan, an inspection of Mainland publications on zheng music, and interviews of zheng musicians in Hong Kong and Singapore in the later periods, shows that basic ideas about *yijing* are similar, though zheng musicians are likely to hold varying views about it. This practise of using *yijing* often associates a piece with certain

aspects of Chinese culture and history, such as Tang poetry. In this way, the musical expression of zheng music constitutes an ethnic narrative that continues to produce the "past" to musicians and audience. This is an important reason why conflict between ethnicity and nationalism could and did play an important role in the development of zheng music.

3.3.5 Lives of Zheng Musicians

Individual Musicians

Zheng musicians may be viewed as the medium through which changes in the society are translated into the development of zheng music. The reason for studying individual musicians, therefore, is to provide data for understanding the detailed dynamics relating to the theme of this thesis. Another reason (e.g. Stock 1996; Danielson 1997; Lau 1996), is related to the fact that the musicians discussed by these authors are all very famous in their own societies. Each is a leader the rest of the society would emulate. These are musicians whose music and creativity have had profound impact on their cultures. In a similar way, there are a small number of zheng musicians who are *recognised* as *dashi* 大师 [great teacher], which may be translated as "masters", by their peers. They have a large following of students who would travel long distances to learn from them. Typically, they would have published a number of books or scores and released numerous recordings on zheng music which are widely distributed and sought after. In this section, the life of Liang Tsaip'ing, zheng master whose style dominated the early modern period in Taiwan, and his student Yang Ronghui, zheng teacher in Tainan, a city in south Taiwan, are discussed.

Liang Tsaip'ing

Liang's life and work has been documented in considerable details by himself in a number of books that he had published (Liang Tsaip'ing 1979a,b, 1986). These are complemented by data that I had collected through talking to him and Yang over a period of about twenty-three years. Liang's life spanned the period before and after the mass migration to Taiwan in 1949. His books are interesting items in themselves. They create a part of his "past", documenting all of his achievements, complete with photographs of his travels, praises from peers and endorsements by government officials. His books cover the following topics: scores both in cipher notation and *gongchepu* (see figures 4 and 5), his views on zheng music, his overseas performances, ancient poems on zheng music and his own poems. They provide an overview of what Liang considers important.

In Liang's own account, he was born on 23 February 1910, Gaoyang 高阳, Hebei 河北, and grew up in an environment surrounded by Chinese music, particularly when there were weddings and funerals. He started learning the zheng at the age of fourteen in Beijing, together with other Chinese music instruments. In 1949, he came to Taiwan. He started teaching zheng music in a school in Taipei. He organised many performances in Taiwan, and travelled widely to Korea, Japan, Europe, Southeast Asia, and the United States for performances. He also invited *koto* musicians from Japan and *Kayagum* musicians from Korea to perform in Taiwan on numerous occasions. He composed many pieces of zheng music and taught many zheng students. When I started learning zheng music around 1980, Liang was already very famous and respected. His zheng scores were widely used, his recordings widely listened to.

Liang's organisational ability was evident from the attention to detail in his books (1979a,b). He drew effectively on an extensive network of people to support his zheng music activities, as evidenced by the endorsements by famous people in his book. His students formed an important part of this network, as many of them eventually became famous zheng musicians in Taiwan. There were a number of social and political factors that had been important for Liang's career. These include isolation from the Mainland, the Nationalist government's drive for international recognition, the economic miracle, and the mass media. Liang often talked about his overseas performances. These were often done with the sponsorship of the Nationalist government and, and were part of the effort to raise the international awareness of the legitimacy of the government in Taiwan.

In Taiwan, the cultural concept of respect for teachers was a strong one, and was an important reason for the large and effective network of students that Liang had been able to cultivate over the years. Many of the concerts that Liang gave in Taiwan were organised by his former students who had become zheng teachers. I had observed that on two occasions it started with a simple letter from Liang expressing a desire to perform. The former students then went about preparing funds, reserving concert halls, rehearsing with students, and inviting Liang to come to perform. The arrival of Liang at the concert was considered a great honour bestowed by a famous zheng master. Liang's influence extended to Chinese communities outside Taiwan, such as in Singapore and London (see photo 14), as I had witnessed personally in these two countries after 1990. During the early modern period in Taiwan, not many zheng musicians could think of ignoring a request from Liang, and Liang was able greatly to increase his exposure to the public

through concerts, which in turn made him more famous and even less resistible.[25]

When social and political conditions changed after 1980, Liang's musical style became less popular, and most students started learning the Mainland style.[26] The main changes started with the penetration of the mass media before or around 1980s culminating in the lifting of isolation from the Mainland in 1987, coupled with an increasing demand for zheng music. Information on zheng music from the Mainland started with its influence on a small group of zheng teachers who have access to it. The growing number of new students then contributed to the process of replacing Liang's musical style. By the end of the 1980s, the twenty-one stringed zheng was already very common in Taiwan. This was obvious from my own teaching experience in Taiwan

Photo 14. The concert at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1991.

[25] In the 1990s, his compositions were used in performances in zheng conferences and published in zheng scores on the Mainland.
[26] Many of Liang's students still continue to teach using his scores.

during this period. Thus Liang's development had been specific to a definite period – the early modern period – from 1949 to about 1987. The correlation between Liang's work and the social and political conditions of the time was therefore quite clear. It should be added, however, that without the infrastructure of sixteen-stringed zheng development already laid by Liang and other zheng musicians in the early modern period, the spread of the twenty-one stringed zheng would not have taken place in such a short space of time.

Yang Ronghui

To provide insight into the way that zheng music was transmitted in the early modern period, the biography of Yang is now discussed. The life of Yang illustrated the way that the music teaching by a zheng teacher (Liang) was assimilated by a student (Yang), who in turn transmitted his interpretation to his own students. In this way, it was possible to follow the way that ethnic identity that was continually being produced.[27]

His original name is Yang Ch'unk'un 杨春坤. He was born on 3 August 1920 in Shanghai. He had been a signal officer in the Nationalist army infantry for thirty years, and had taken part in the Sino-Japanese war and other wars. He followed the army when it came to Taiwan in 1949. He enjoyed Peking opera and music, and carried on this interest in the army. He was (and is) Catholic, and after leaving the army, he worked as a reporter for a Catholic church in Tainan voluntarily, learning zheng at the same time. Since January 1973, he started teaching zheng, and called his classes the *Tsehsi*

[27] Cultural activities are often thought of as essential in constructing identities (e.g. Lee 1998:243), and forming social bonds (e.g. Radcliffe-Brown 1948:251). While these functions may be deduced from observations of societies in general, individuals participating in the activities may be less likely to think in such terms. Whereas zheng masters and even audiences who do not play zheng music would think of it as representative of Chinese culture, I have not met any zheng student or musician, myself included, who said they played zheng music because they wanted to feel or be "Chinese". Most of them decided to learn zheng because they liked the music.

Kuchengshe 泽溪古箏社 [Tsehsi Zheng Society].[28] Initially, he learnt zheng by himself. After teaching for two years, he felt that in order to continue teaching in the long term, he must learn from a famous teacher. So he made his first trip to Liang's home in Taipei. When he celebrated its twentieth anniversary, he introduced himself in the concert programme as follows:

> I am a student of Professor Liang Tsaip'ing, the great zheng master of this generation. I specialise in teaching Professor Liang's sixteen-stringed zheng repertory. I have also composed music for sixteen and twenty-one stringed zhengs, and taught Henan and Chaozhou zheng music. ...
>
> Because I have had diabetes for ten years, the doctor has recommended that I teach fewer students. This is my greatest regret in my mission to expand and promote the zheng society.
>
> My teacher Professor Liang Tsaip'ing has, on Jan 16, obtained the approval of the Ministry of Home Affairs to form a Chinese Zheng Society. He was elected the first Chairman, and I myself the vice-chairman. This Chinese Zheng Society is part of the management committee for this concert.
>
> Chairman Liang, at the age of eighty-two, is still not afraid of difficulty and tiredness in his effort to promote zheng culture. This is very respectable. From now on I shall follow in my teacher's footsteps.
>
> Professor Liang is often invited to perform in Taiwan and China, and is known to be one of the greatest zheng masters. That we are able to invite Prof. Liang for our twentieth anniversary to watch, give prizes and help to perform, is our good fortune, and makes this a very special occasion. [29]

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[28] *Tsehsi* is the Chinese word for Cecil, as in St. Cecilia.

[29] From the programme notes of *Yang Ronghui Shisheng Zhengyue Yanzouhui* 杨荣惠师生箏乐演奏会 [Yang Ronghui Teacher and Students Zheng Concert] held on 4 October 1992 in Tainan Chungcheng Library Auditorium.

The sense of "mission to expand and promote" zheng music is a commonly articulated desire, not only by Yang but also by many zheng musicians I have interviewed. From this speech, we can also obtain some insight into inter-personal relations in the Chinese society. The mention of his teacher is a sign of respect, to show that he remembers the source of his learning. Henan and Chaozhou are two regions of China (see section 2.4.1). Mention of these names in relation to zheng repertory indicates the historical source of the music. Both of these served as reminders of the performers' and audience's ethnic "origin", a feature that Roosens (1994) has argued is primary to the definition of the ethnic group. Yang's emphasis on the number of prizes his students have won establishes his credentials as a respectable zheng teacher. His position in the Chinese Zheng Society elicited trust from people he deals with, and confirmed that he was acknowledged by his peers. His association with the most famous zheng master in Taiwan, Professor Liang Tsaip'ing, meant that he was approved by the highest authority in the field.

Both Yang and Liang liked Chinese painting. Painting stimulated images in one's mind, an important way to appreciate *yijing* in zheng music. He also followed Liang in composing. He would take a copy of his work to Liang for his criticism. After returning, he would talk about how Liang had corrected him. He was careful not to utter his full name even in his absence - it was always Master Liang, Teacher Liang, or Professor Liang. Whenever Liang came to visit him, we must stand around to offer physical support such as holding his arms as he was quite old (photo 15). Yang would use his chopsticks to pick up vegetables and put into Liang's rice bowl in a meal, a form of Chinese courtesy. Yang would also arrange accommodation and buy train tickets for him. Each time, Liang arrived in Tainan, Yang would meet Liang at the train station with

his students to give him a warm welcome in appreciation of his kindness. Yang was very careful to make sure that everything was arranged according to Liang's preferred style, including food and accommodation. He would also arrange for his students to have lessons with Liang. When Liang left, Yang would give him a big *hongbao*.[30] Yang tried his best to keep Liang's style unchanged, transmitting it intact to his students.

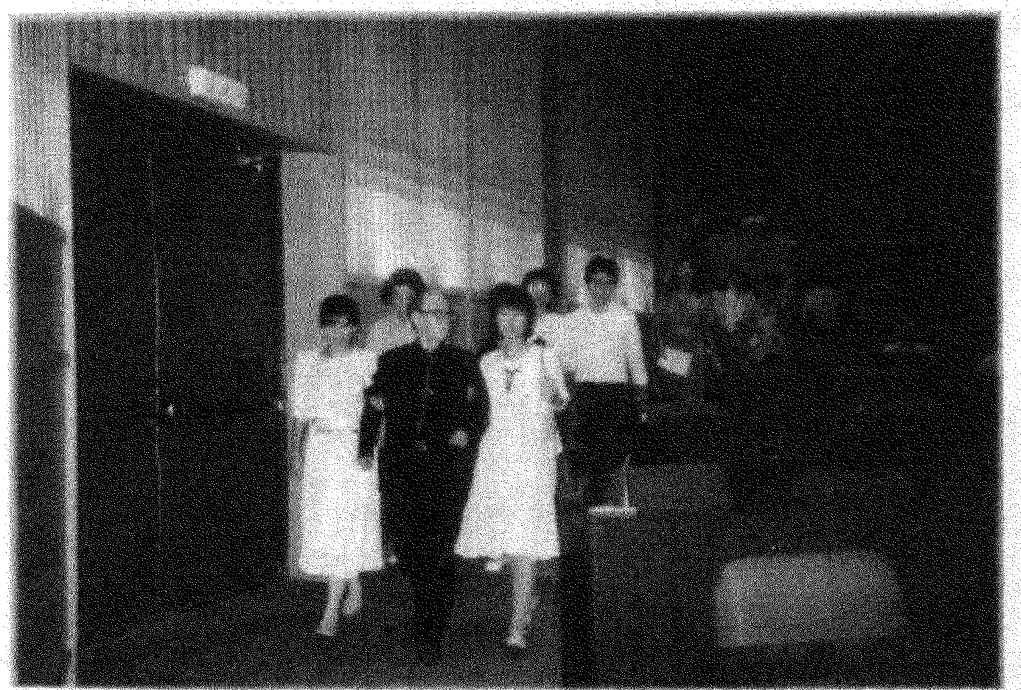


Photo 15. The conference at Tainan Cultural Centre.[31]

Yang was very conservative. At a time when many zheng musicians began to change to the twenty-one stringed zheng during the transitional period, he was reluctant to do so at first because of Liang's preference for sixteen-stringed zheng. He said it was important to respect his teacher. He would not change the fingering techniques without

[30] Red packet with money inside – a Chinese gift.
[31] The author, Wei Ch'iunghua 魏琼华 (front left and right), and fellow students supporting Liang Tsaip'ing as a sign of reverence (phto taken in1986)

Liang's approval.[32] Yang would "rearrange" the twenty-one stringed zheng scores for the twenty-one stringed zheng,[33] replacing the difficult parts with simple techniques. When I asked him why, he said it was difficult to play. So I had to learn the twenty-one stringed techniques on my own. I used to practise zheng in the National Cheng Kung University campus in Tainan. Once I was practising Hon Seewah's *Yue'er Gao* [The Moon is High] (Hon 1982) (long before I met Hon in Hong Kong), there was a section which contained very difficult fingering techniques, so Yang had changed it to a few simple strokes of the strings. When I played Yang's version in the university garden, the zheng students there showed me the original score, and I learnt to play it correctly with Chien Hsienkuang's 簡亘光 guidance.[34] Even then, in front of Yang, out of respect for him, I did not dare to do so.

Yang typifies a musician caught in the process of change. Yang grew up with the "old" tradition, and was forced to embrace the new twenty-one stringed zheng music when he was at quite a mature age. It was difficult for him to change wholly to the new techniques and perception of zheng music. I have met others in Taiwan and Singapore of his age who have tried, with varying degree of success.

3.4 The Transition Period: 1981 - 1987

3.4.1 Change and Nationalism

[32] During zheng lessons, if I did not follow the fingering techniques as written in the scores, he would correct me immediately and tell me not to change any notes in the scores. I must follow exactly everything that was written in the scores. Yang always said that only the zheng masters could change things on the scores.

[33] Twenty-one to twenty-one is correct, not twenty-one to sixteen nor sixteen to twenty-one. The reason was that twenty-one stringed scores were too difficult, and the rearranging is to simplify the techniques.

[34] Chien was a student in the university. He graduated in 1984, and was a teacher of the zheng class there in 1980.

The impact of nationalism is manifested clearly and dramatically in zheng music in Taiwan, in the form of a sudden and rapid change in repertory and musical styles after the lifting of martial law in 1987. Even before that, from about 1981 to 1987, zheng music in Taiwan had undergone a gradual transition from the style of the early modern period from 1949 to 1980, which was based on the sixteen-stringed zheng, to the Mainland style based on the twenty-one stringed zheng. In this thesis, I call this the transition period. It is about how zheng musicians got around the restrictions imposed by the ban on all Mainland products before 1987, in order to learn the twenty-one stringed zheng music.

The Transition

From interviews with zheng musicians, the cause and effect of this transition seem quite clear. Zheng musicians in Taiwan first became aware of a distinctive Mainland style in the late 1970s. There were at least two channels whereby this information reached Taiwan. First, there were occasional visits to Taiwan by zheng musicians from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore, where contact with the Mainland could take place more freely, since governments bans, if any, were limited to short periods. Then, there were enterprising businessmen and students who smuggled the twenty-one stringed zheng and tape recordings of zheng music from the Mainland, usually via Hong Kong. By about 1981, zheng musicians in Taiwan began making reproductions of the twenty-one stringed zheng, based on the few models that they saw. During the transition period, quite a lot of locally made twenty-one stringed zhengs were produced and the population of teaching and learning of the twenty-one stringed zheng

increased. Zheng musicians gathered what information they could, on repertory and fingering techniques, from the scanty scores and tapes on Mainland zheng music. As demand grew, businessmen began to import scores, tapes and instruments from Hong Kong and Singapore, Malaysia, which could go through the customs legally. By 1987, the twenty-one stringed zheng was already widespread in Taiwan, although fingering techniques were still based on the sixteen-stringed zheng of the early modern period. This was to change after martial law was lifted by the Nationalist government. After 1987, although direct communication and travels to the Mainland were still banned,[35] Taiwanese were permitted to travel to the Mainland via Hong Kong, Mainland Chinese to come to work in Taiwan, and trading between Taiwan and the Mainland allowed to be taken place.[36] This effectively opened a floodgate. Many zheng musicians from Taiwan travelled to China to learn zheng music, and zheng musicians from the Mainland were invited to teach in Taiwan. Within a few years after 1987, Mainland zheng music became widely practised in Taiwan.

Thus, the cause of transition was the bringing into Taiwan of information on the twenty-one stringed zheng music by Singaporean and Malaysian zheng musicians, students and by businessmen. The effect was a large scale of transition from sixteen-stringed to twenty-one stringed zheng music, with distinctive instrument, repertory and techniques, over a short period of about ten to fifteen years. A number of questions can be raised. Why was the reception so enthusiastic? Why was the change so abrupt and on such a large scale? Why had it taken place within such a short time? Why did frequent

[35] In the 30 Nov 2001 issue of *The Economist*, an article on Taiwan mentioned ongoing negotiations about direct links in communication, shipping, etc.
[36] In 2003, the Mainland and Taiwanese governments started to allow direct flight of private, chartered flights.

contact with the U.S. not replace the zheng repertory with Western repertory? There is some Western music played on the zheng. It is one of the arguments of this thesis that the need for ethnic identity plays a significant role in stimulating this rapid change. Ethnic identity would serve to maintain close link with the Mainland, so that Taiwanese zheng musicians would be keenly aware of developments there. However, it cannot fully explain why the change in zheng music took place so rapidly and widely in Taiwan. One reason for the apparently rapid change could be the ban on communication with the Mainland for almost forty years, and the sudden lifting of this ban in 1987. Assuming that there was already a strong motivation to learn Mainland zheng music, the lifting of the ban would bring about rapid change. The following paragraphs explain how individual agents played a significant role in providing this motivation.

Invented Tradition

So far, only conditions external to Taiwanese zheng music have been mentioned, such as development in Mainland zheng music and lifting of the ban by the Nationalist government. As Lau (1996) has noted, "musical change ... is at once a product of societal change and an articulation of the social agents' position in the new social configuration". Lau uses this observation to explain the invention of the new, modern "tradition" of Chinese flute music on the Mainland, in which the active role of flute musicians played a large part in bringing about this change. As explained in section 2.6.2, a corresponding "tradition" was invented for zheng music. In Taiwan, the active role played by individual zheng musicians had been instrumental in motivating the rapid change. The term "social agents" used by Lau refers to that small number of people who have influence over a

large number of people in a society. In the 1970s, it was a small number of zheng musicians who became aware of a distinctive Mainland zheng tradition, and started actively to seek information, learn and make instruments. They even went on to teach and perform, in spite of the fact that some of the older generation were opposed to the twenty-one stringed zheng and preferred to maintain the sixteen-stringed zheng and its music. In this way, the Mainland tradition was brought to a large number of people in Taiwan within a short time. It is interesting to consider if the zheng students and audience would have a choice in accepting the new tradition. It may be argued that they would not have to learn or listen to the new tradition if they did not accept it. However, it could also be said that they are often passive recipients. Most of the time, their interest would be motivated by some reasons, such as a conscious need for entertainment, or subconscious need for a sense of ethnic identity.

As explained in section 2.6.2, the new twenty-one stringed zheng tradition had been largely invented in the Mainland by the time of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. The major influencing factors during this period were: the ideological objectives set by Mao; the comprehensive knowledge of Western music by influential musicians; the collection of folk songs from the fields; the zheng schools of various parts of China; a number of famous zheng musicians of the older generation; the increase in conservatory-trained musicians; and the invention of the twenty-one stringed zheng. The resulting zheng tradition comprised a distinctive instrument, repertory and fingering techniques, together with an increasing number of conservatory trained zheng musicians; increased exchanges and competition among zheng musicians from different parts of China; increased popularity of zheng music; and increased shift from amateur idiom to

professional idiom. After the Cultural Revolution, as the ideological pressure waned, a number of tunes with revolutionary titles were no longer relevant. However, most remained popular and took on a new context, either with new titles or new interpretations and the new tradition continued to develop. The Communist ideology had thus invented a new zheng tradition, though not necessarily in the expected way. After the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976, the Mainland was gradually opened to visitors, and among the first visitors from Taiwan were likely to be businessmen seeking opportunities. It was against such a social and political background that information on the twenty-one stringed zheng started spreading to Taiwan.

3.4.2 Transmission and Control

In this section, the events and activities surrounding the transmission of the twenty-one stringed zheng to Taiwan before 1987 are discussed. A number of factors appear to have contributed: a Chinese society that was receptive to zheng music, and that looked to the Mainland as their homeland; the existing sixteen-stringed zheng music that had developed in Taiwan for about thirty years from 1949; the large number of zheng musicians and students already in existence around the late 1970s and early 1980s; the new twenty-one stringed zheng music tradition that was concurrently being invented in the Mainland; a new, younger generation of zheng musicians eager to make zheng music their careers; the ban on the zheng music of the Mainland and products; accessibility of air transport to the general public; business and cultural contact among Malaysia, Singapore and the Mainland on the one hand, and among Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan on the other; and zheng music development in Malaysia and Singapore. In this

對　照　目　錄

1949～1979古箏曲選				廿一弦古箏名曲三十三首	
1. 慶豐年		趙玉齋曲	(1) =	慶豐年	(29)
2. 紡織忙		劉天一曲	(6) =	紡織忙	(38)
3. 鬧元宵		曹東扶編曲	(7) =	鬧元宵	(34)
4. 新　春		趙玉齋曲	(12) =	新　春	(18)
5. 瑤族舞曲	劉緻山、茅　沅曲	尹其穎改編	(18) =	瑤族舞曲	(84)
6. 繡金匾	陝北民歌	延　甲改編	(22) =	繡金匾	(149)
7. 工人贊		趙玉齋曲	(23) =	人人讚	(39)
8. 幸福果		任清志曲	(28) =	幸福曲	(44)
9. 英雄們戰勝大渡河	羅宗賢、時樂濛曲	呂毅生改編	(32) =	大肚河	(54)
10. 春到拉薩		史兆元曲	(36) =	春到拉薩	(76)
11. 戰台風		王昌元曲	(40) =	風　颱	(12)
12. 豐收鑼鼓		李祖基曲	(47) =	豐收鑼鼓	(80)
13. 山丹丹開花紅艷艷		焦金海編曲	(51) =	鮮花滿山坡	(128)
14. 瀏陽河		史兆元編曲	(55) =	流暢河	(58)
15. 綱水奔流		周德明曲	(59) =	江水奔流	(96)
16. 洞庭新歌	王昌元、浦琦璋編曲		(63) =	洞庭湖歌	(92)
17. 幸福渠水到俺村	沈立良、項斯華、范上城曲		(67) =	幸福到我家	(142)
18. 草原英雄小姐妹	劉起超、張　燕曲		(74) =	草原小姐妹	(132)
19. 幸福水		焦金海曲	(80) =	幸福水	(48)
20. 清江放排	陳國權、丁伯苓曲		(86) =	清江放排	(100)
21. 東海漁歌		張　燕曲	(92) =	東海漁歌	(106)
22. 台灣兒女的心願		朱曉谷曲	(96) =	心　願	(2)
23. 細　懷	閻　惘、古　海編曲		(101) =	西　懷	(7)
24. 漁舟唱晚(箏、二胡重奏)	(古曲)曾　正、朱郁之編曲		(106) =	漁舟唱晚	(110)
25. 春天來了(高胡、箏三重奏)		雷雨聲編曲	(110) =	春天來了	(114)

銀河碧波古箏曲

1. 雪山春曉	范上城、格桑達吉曲		(1) =	雪山春曉	(68)
2. 春滿漓江	林　堅、焦金海曲		(4) =	春滿漓江	(71)
3. 銀河碧波		范上城曲	(9) =	銀河碧波	(88)
4. 苗寨的早晨		焦金海編曲	(13) =	苗寨的早晨	(138)
5. 景岡山上太陽紅		趙曼琴編曲	(17) =	歌　唱	(24)
6. 森森曲	陝西鄠鄂音樂	延　甲編曲	(22) =	森森曲	(62)
7. 美女淚	陸增抗、延　甲曲		(25) =	美女淚	(65)
8. 阿里山歌	台灣民謠	汪淑芳、蔡中龍編曲	(28) =	阿里山之歌	(150)

Figure 9. New titles of a list of Mainland zheng pieces in Taiwan.[37]

[37] The left hand side shows the original titles on the Mainland. The right hand side shows the new titles in Taiwan. (Leaflet printed by *Xueyi Chubanshe* 学艺出版社 in Taipei and *Xiangyun Yinyue Wenjiaoshe* 乡韵音乐文教社 in Tainan.)

section, the main issues discussed are the extent of government control in Taiwan, the exchanges between Malaysia, Singapore and Taiwan, and transmission of Mainland zheng music in Taiwan.

Government Influence

Mainland zheng pieces often carried revolutionary titles, such as *Caoyuan Shangde Hongweibing Jiandaole Mao Zhuxi* 草原上的红卫兵见到了毛主席 [The Red Guard on the Plain saw Chairman Mao], *Yingxiongmen Zhansheng Dadu He* 英雄们战胜大度河 [Victory of the Heroes at River Dadu], etc. Whatever the background of this new tradition, it appeared to be of little relevance to zheng musicians in Singapore and Taiwan. The fact that they knew little about this background, which was not widely known until later writings on the period appeared (e.g. Krauss 1989; Liu 1998), did not seem to prevent them from wanting to learn it during the late 1970s and 1980s. In fact, it was of more relevance to the Taiwanese government, who were greatly concerned about Mainland influence.

Before the 1990s, some of my interviewees said that they had to be careful when they practised twenty-one stringed zheng pieces that had sensitive titles. Since childhood we were instilled with the concept that we must be wary of the communist government on the Mainland. In one example, a zheng musician once planned a performance with a specially designed zheng imported from the Mainland. Shortly before the performance, he received information from a government agent that the authority viewed his zheng as

the "robber's goods".[38] As a result, he had to cancel the concert on the day of the performance.

As another example, titles of Mainland Chinese zheng music often had to be changed. For instance, "The Red Guard on the Plain saw Chairman Mao" would clearly invite trouble. Zheng musicians in Taiwan changed this to *Caoyuan Xiongying* 草原雄鷹 [Eagles on the Plain]. Cheng (1991:206) also discusses this issue. Figure 9 shows a list of some of the changes. Number 9, for instance, shows that Victory of the Heroes at River Dadu was changed to *Dadu He* 大肚河 [River of the Big Stomach]. On the left side, numbers 1 to 25 shows a list of the original names from a book entitled *Zhengqu Xuan* 箏曲选 1949 – 1979 [Collection of Zheng music 1949 – 1979], and numbers twenty-six to thirty-three are *Yinhe Bipo* 银河碧波 [Blue Waves of the Milky Way], published on the Mainland in 1982 and 1983 respectively. This book contains a collection of zheng pieces composed on the Mainland from 1949 to 1979. I only obtained a copy of this from a bookshop in Singapore around 1996. The titles in this book had been largely collected in a book entitled *Nianyi Xian Guzheng Mingqu Sanshisan shou* 廿一弦古箏名曲三十三首 [33 Famous Zheng Pieces], after being changed to the titles listed on the right side of figure 9. This book is undated, and I obtained a copy of this around 1988, from the person in charge of the Ch'engta zheng society (section 3.4.3). It could not be openly purchased in the bookshops in Taiwan at that time. Figure 9 itself, also undated, was a leaflet printed by *Xueyi Chubanshe* in Taipei and *Xiangyun Yinyue Wenjiaoshe* in Tainan. I found this among a stack of printed

[38] In the early modern periods, Taiwanese authority called the Mainland government *gong fei* 共匪 [Communist robbers].

materials during my field work in 1997. This must have been circulated privately among a small number of zheng musicians.

The above description shows how secretive such information about Mainland zheng pieces were passed around during the transition period. These obstacles did not stop the younger generation of zheng musicians from wanting to learn more about Mainland zheng music. When the opportunity first presented itself in the late 1970s in the form of visitors from Malaysia and Singapore, they took it readily.

Chan Kwok Hing

In Malaysia and Singapore, contact with the Mainland was generally permitted by their governments. Before the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia were able to communicate with their relatives in the Mainland, and businessmen could import goods from the Mainland. However, it became very difficult for people in both Malaysia and Singapore to travel to the Mainland during the Cultural Revolution. Nevertheless, some people were still able to bring goods, vinyl records and tape recordings from the Mainland, perhaps unofficially. Information about zheng music from the Mainland was also not always easily available in Malaysia and Singapore, but there was always some demand from zheng musicians and students. It was in this social, economic and political background that Chan Kwok Hing 陈国兴, widely acknowledged by Taiwanese zheng musicians as one of the key persons to introduce twenty-one stringed zheng music to Taiwan, first came into contact with zheng music in Malaysia in the late 1970s (see photo 28). In 1987, I met him when I was a zheng teacher in Tainan and also attended one lesson from him.

Zheng music in Malaysia is not part of the theme of this thesis, though it is quite popular there. Malaysia is briefly discussed here because of the importance of the role of Chan Kwok Hing to zheng music in Taiwan. Malaysia is a Muslim country with three main races of 50% Malays, 33% Chinese, and 9% Indians and together with indigenous tribes such as Orang Asli".[39] The State funded schools mainly use Malay as the medium of instruction.

Chan was born in Malaysia in 1951. His family members are professional performers, who specialised in traditional Cantonese songs and operas. Chan's childhood was surrounded by this regional genre of Chinese music, as his friends and relatives would gather at his home to sing Cantonese songs and operas during weekends and holidays. Similar to many my interviewees in Singapore and Taiwan, Chan knew little about zheng music. It was not until after hearing a performance by chance that he came to like it and started learning the zheng around 1970. The eighteen-stringed[40] zheng that he brought was imported from the Mainland. He would spend a lot of time practising the zheng after schooling, such as *Jiaochuang Yeyu* [Rainy Night by the Window next to the Banana Tree] and *Qing Fengnian*.[41]

Around 1971, when there were some diplomatic relations between Malaysia and the Mainland, a *Youyi Shangdian* 友谊商店 [Friendship Store] opened in Kuala Lumpur. This was a state-operated nation-wide chain store on the Mainland, which sold common Mainland products. Chan saw a twenty-one stringed zheng in this shop for the first time, and it was very expensive. After negotiation, the storeowner allowed him to pay by instalments. In appreciation, Chan practised zheng music in the shop to serve as

[39] Obtained from Internet website http://www.lonelyplanet.com/destinations/south_east_asia/malaysia/
[40] String numbers other than sixteen and twenty-one did, and do, exist - see photos 2 (j to n).
[41] According to him, at that time the zheng notations were available in *gongchepu*.

advertisement. He also obtained twenty-one stringed zheng recordings from the store. However, with no knowledge of fingering techniques of twenty-one stringed zheng music he could only teach himself by listening to the recordings. Fast and complex pieces like *Zhan Taifeng* kept him practising until late into the night. Later he studied the zheng under Peng Guangfu 彭光甫, a well known zheng musician and composer in Malaysia.[42] A few months later, Peng suggested that he should start teaching. Chan was very unsure about his own techniques. Despite his lack of confidence, Chan was able to attract and retain students. Thus began his career as a zheng teacher. In the late 1970s, he happened to have a student who came from Taiwan. The student told him that if he were to go to Taiwan, he would definitely be able to make a lot of money by teaching zheng music. In 1979, with her strong encouragement, Chan decided to try his luck. He removed all the strings, painted the zheng black, and took a flight to Taiwan. He was worried that his twenty-one stringed zheng would be confiscated by the Taiwanese custom because it was made on the Mainland, and thought that disguising his zheng would make it look more like a piece of wood. Fortunately, no question was asked at the customs, and he was given a three-month social visit pass to stay in Taiwan, which he subsequently got extended.

Introducing 21 Strings

Staying in Taipei, he started looking at newspapers for news and advertisements relating to zheng music and managed to contact a number of zheng musicians and businessmen. Many of them said that they had never seen the twenty-one stringed zheng

[42] Peng has composed quite a number of twenty-one zheng pieces. His work together with Chen was published in Taiwan and Singapore.

before, nor the nylon-wound steel strings. Most zhengs in Taiwan at that time were sixteen steel stringed. Many zheng musicians started learning from him. A businessman also offered to take him on a demonstration tour around Taiwan. Within one year of his arrival in Taiwan, he was invited to teach zheng at the Wenhua Tahsüeh 文化大学 [Chinese Culture University]. He gladly accepted the offer, but was concerned about not having a university degree and not being able to speak Mandarin. Mandarin was the medium of instruction in Taiwanese schools and universities. Chan, however, grew up in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia, where he spoke mainly Cantonese. Whatever the initial problems, Chan taught the twenty-one stringed zheng in Taiwan for fifteen years,[43] and its popularity increased rapidly. At that time, it was not possible to import the twenty-one stringed zheng from the Mainland, so some zheng musicians came to take measurements of Chan's instruments and began manufacturing the twenty-one stringed zhengs for sale. Around 1981, a famous zheng musician from Singapore, Au Yong Eang, also visited Taiwan to give performances and teach twenty-one stringed zheng music for a short period. However, twenty-one stringed zheng could be seen in Taiwan a few years before the arrival of Chan. These were brought to Taiwan by businessmen, friends and overseas students via Hong Kong and Singapore.[44]

The modern zheng was able to develop soon after Chan's arrival, with the twenty-one stringed zheng notations and techniques. This also stimulated a number of the local zheng musicians to compose new pieces (Chen 1991:201). These include Cheng Teyuan's *Haiou* 海鸥 [Seagull] and Wei Tei-Don's *Yuetao Xiang Man Yuetaoshan* [The

[43] Owing to the illness of his mother, and difficulty in obtaining a work permit in Taiwan, he returned to Malaysia in 1995.
[44] This was mentioned to me by Wei Tei-Don and Ch'en Hsinhua.

Fragrance of the Peach on the Peach Mountain]. Other composers include Huang Haoyin, Liao Wenchang, Shih Ch'ingchieh and Shih Wenyao 施文耀. Zheng music in the early modern period was characterised by individual style and was mainly used for self-enjoyment and to cultivate one's own character. The style of this period has formed a distinctive local colour, despite adapting from the Mainland twenty-one stringed zheng techniques. Its richness and familiar melodies, with the more challenging fingering techniques, had boosted the growth of the zheng music. Pop and folk songs have been widely rearranged into zheng music as teaching aids in the hope that more students will be interested, so that the zheng music can be widely disseminated, although the experienced zheng musicians often felt that it was necessary to build up the foundation based on traditional pieces before students could play well.

There were various issues that zheng musicians who wanted to practise Mainland twenty-one stringed zheng music during the transition period had to contend with, all of which were related to the fact that Mainland products were illegal. These include worrying about government scrutiny, difficulty in obtaining instruments, scores, and recordings; difficulty in holding performances, and no knowledge about the fingering techniques of the twenty-one stringed zheng.

When Chan Kwok Hing gave his first performance in Taiwan using the twenty-one stringed zheng, the authority was alerted. Chan's friends told him that government agents had interrogated them about him. According to Chan, they eventually left him alone because he never talked about the Mainland. One zheng musician told him that he must change the titles of the twenty-one stringed zheng pieces from the Mainland. Furthermore, the source of zhengs was a constant problem. Locally made zhengs were at

first slightly cheaper than the Mainland made in the early 1980s.[45] In the mid 1980s, when more Mainland zheng arrived via Singapore and Hong Kong, they became much cheaper. Apart from businessmen who tried to get Mainland zheng through the Taiwanese customs, zheng musicians often asked friends or students to help buy twenty-one stringed zheng from Hong Kong or Singapore. One reason for the existence of zheng specialist shops was because of this high profit margin, compared with selling other Chinese musical instruments. Zheng teachers who obtained zheng from the shops to sell to their students could also get to share in a substantial portion of this profit. I did not know the shops' exact profits, but zheng teachers' profit could be thirty to forty percent, and this increased as the cost price decreased.

Before 1980, Mainland zheng music recordings were very rare in Taiwan. According to some of my Taiwanese interviewees, the owner of a music company, *Nüwang Ch'angp'ien* 女王唱片 [Queens Record], brought into Taiwan many pieces of vinyl records on zheng music of the various zheng schools from the Mainland in the 1970s (Cheng 1991:200). As a result, he was arrested and detained many times, and became a sort of hero to zheng musicians in Taiwan. Huang (1994) wrote that the company pirated and sold many recordings on regional zheng schools, released by a company in the Mainland called *Zhongguo Changpian Gongsi* 中国唱片公司 [China Record Company], and that this stimulated the desire of Taiwanese zheng musicians to seek changes in music styles.

[45] In fact, the price of the cost price of the Mainland zheng was much cheaper. However, it became very expensive in Taiwan because of the small supply and great demand.

Zheng Competitions

Between 1983 and 1989, I participated in zheng competitions quite frequently (Photo 16). The standard of zheng music was getting higher and higher. The reason was that the pieces of zheng music specified for the competitions were changing from sixteen-stringed to twenty-one stringed zheng music. In these competitions, the competitors were divided into a few sections according to age. Each participant had to play a few pieces of zheng music, and would then be judged and ranked by a panel of judges consisting of well-established musicians. The pieces that each participant had to play were divided into two sets. One set was specified by the organising committee. Another set, the "self-selected set", would be selected by the participant. Before 1985, the committees specified mainly sixteen-stringed zheng music for the youth section. However, from around 1985, twenty-one stringed zheng pieces were specified for both youth and adult sections. Some participants also selected twenty-one stringed zheng pieces for the self-selected set, forcing other competitors to do the same. Before the lifting of martial law in 1987, due to the political problem, a number of zheng musicians were aware that some twenty-one stringed pieces had been renamed. Such illegal pieces were performed openly in public and the government did not take any action to prohibit the event. This was also true for competitions in other Chinese musical instruments. This might have been because the titles were changed, and not being zheng musicians, they were not fully aware of the significance of these twenty-one stringed zheng pieces, unless they received specific information, such as the performance by Wei Tei-Don of specially designed zheng imported from the Mainland, or the presence of foreigners like Chan Kwok Hing. During the transition period, many twenty-one stringed pieces could also be obtained

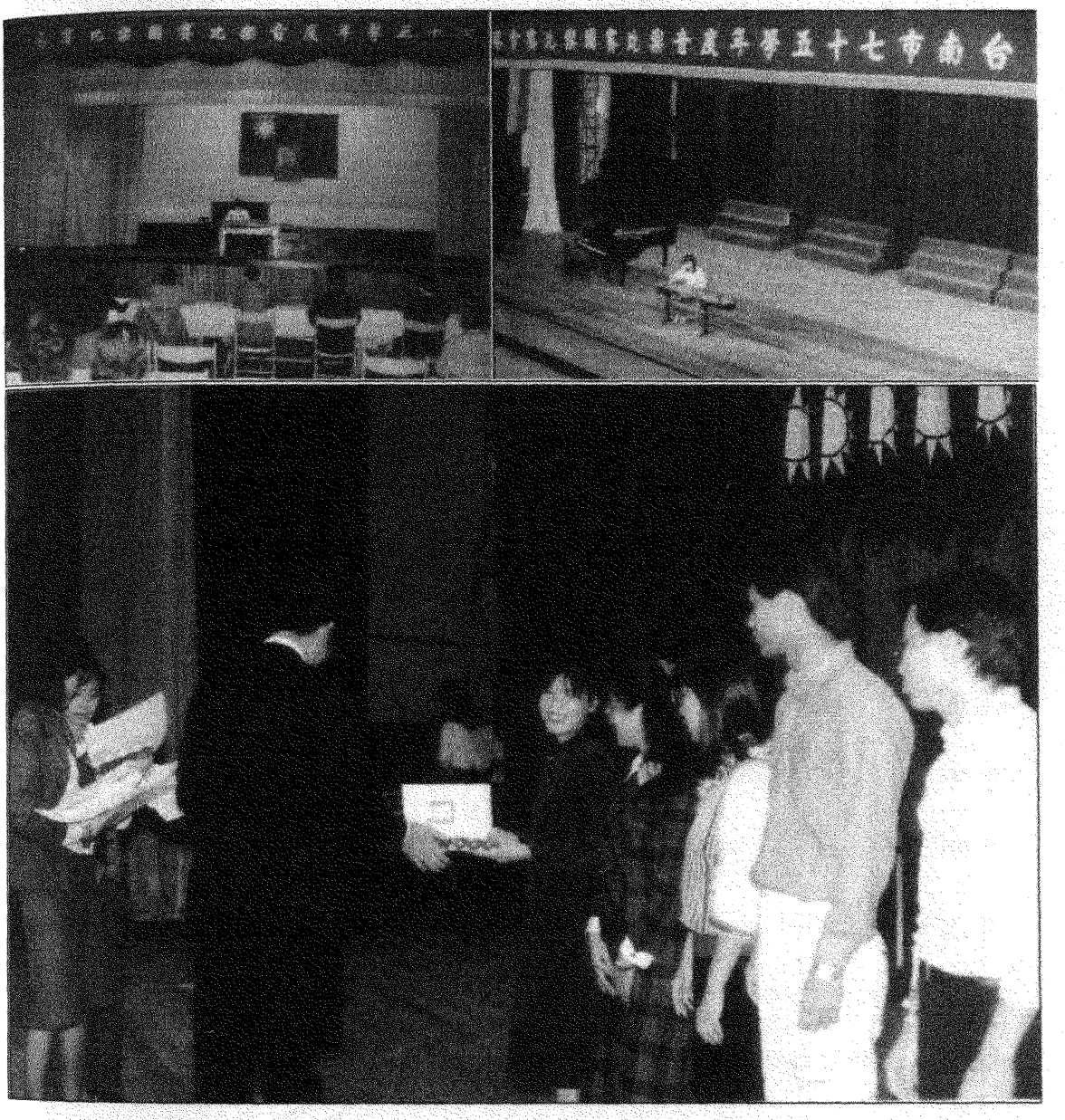


Photo 16. Zheng competition and prize giving ceremony.[46]

from the performers in Hong Kong, who had migrated from the Mainland before or after the Cultural Revolution, such as Hon Seewah and Chen Chuanyin 陈传音. Hon Seewah sometimes travelled to Taiwan to teach for short periods.

[46] Top left and right: Zheng competitions held in Tainan city in 1985 and 1986. The author was playing on the stage in both photographs. Bottom: The author (centre) receiving the first prize of the adult solo section from the Mayor of Tainan city (third from the left) in 1986.

Fingering Techniques

The issue of fingering techniques was that sixteen-stringed zheng techniques could not be used efficiently to play fast and complex twenty-one stringed zheng music, because of the way that strength was applied through the fingers. To give an example, *yaozhi* is a technique in zheng music in which a string is stroked repeatedly to produce the effect of a tremolo. The long tremolo seldom occurred in sixteen-stringed zheng music, but was very common in the twenty-one stringed zheng music.[47] During the transition period, Taiwanese zheng musicians heard Mainland recordings, but could not understand why they could play *yaozhi* for so long, so fast and so strongly. Taiwanese zheng musicians, in the rare cases when it was required, had always played *yaozhi* with the thumb, which was slow, coarse grained, and tiring. Zheng musicians in Taiwan then used the index finger for long tremolo. This technique was widely practised in Taiwan, when communication with the Mainland was banned. *Shizhiyao* 食指摇 [index finger *yaozhi*] has very fine grain but is very tiring.[48] This was also what I learnt initially. It was only when I went to Hong Kong to learn from Hon Seewah that I learnt how it was done on the Mainland (described in section 5.3). The Mainland finger posture is much more efficient for tremolo, but has larger granularity than *shizhiyao*. Personally, I decided to adopt the Mainland technique because I thought that the much greater efficiency – less tiring – outweighed the granularity. Many other zheng musicians in Taiwan also adopted the Mainland *yaozhi* technique eventually. Not all, however, wanted to change. When Chuang Kuonien travelled to the Mainland, he saw the

[47] Most traditional zheng schools do have short tremolo, of about four notes each time. However, this is more like a mordent.

[48] A technique with the same name was also used on the Mainland (Jiao 1987:17). However, the notations in Jiao (1987) shows that it was only used for short notes, unlike the *shizhiyao* in Taiwan which had to play long phrases of melodies.

Mainland tremolo technique. Today, he still prefers to use *shizhiyao*, because he likes the much finer grain tremolo.

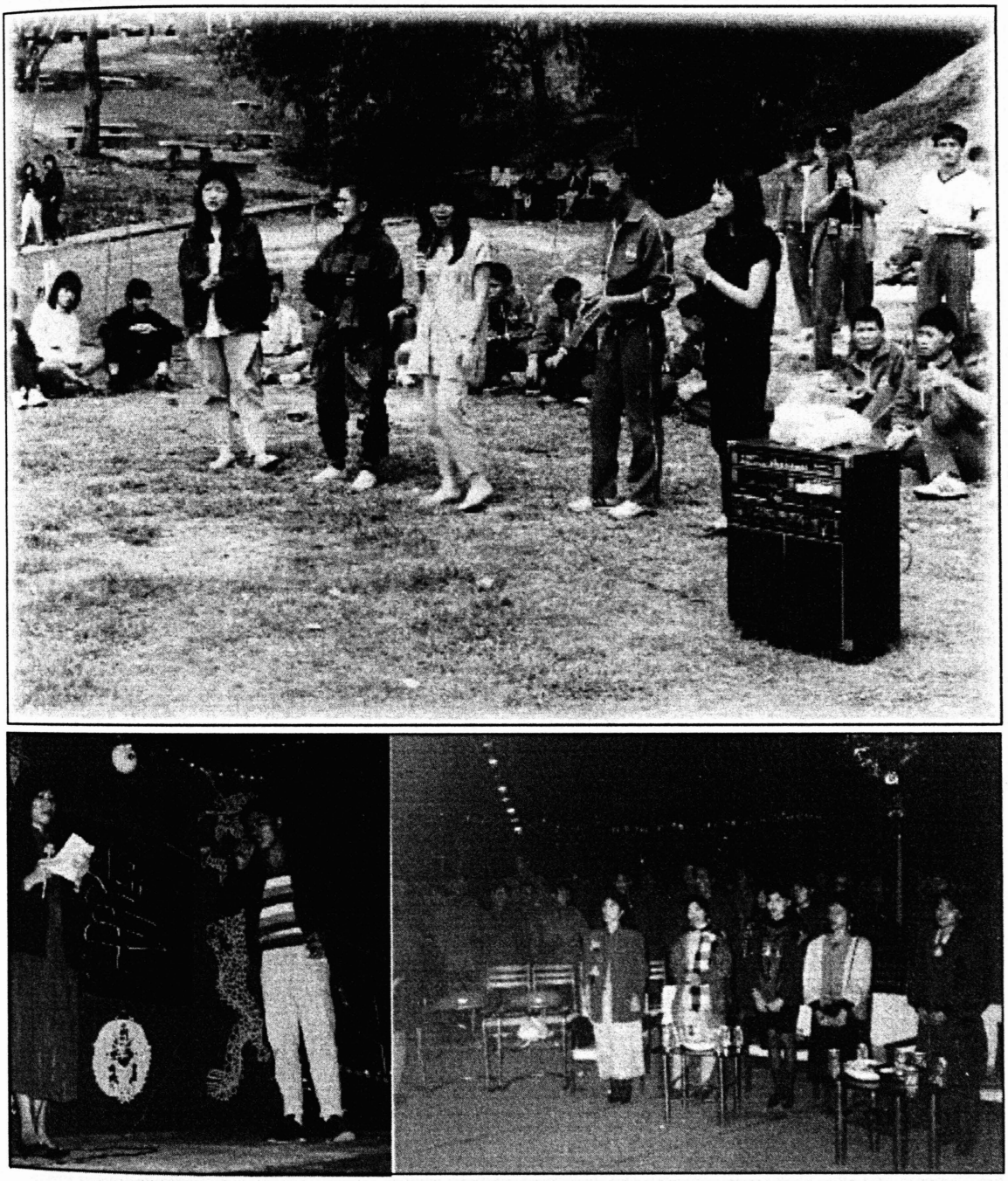


Photo 17. Zheng activities[49]

[49] Top: Excursion and picnic at Wushant'ou Shuik'u. The author was standing in the middle, holding the microphone. Bottom: New year party at *Chinch'eng* camp. The author was standing on the stage. (The photograph on the bottom left was provided by Wang Wenlung 王文隆).

Zheng Activities

There were some efforts among zheng musicians in Taiwan to organise group activities among themselves to exchange information about the twenty-one stringed zheng music. Cheng (1991:202) mentioned two symposiums, one in 1980 and one in 1983, when many zheng musicians in Taiwan met to give talks on various aspects of zheng music. During the transition period, I attended a few small events, listed below for illustration (see photo 17):

1986 Exhibition of the heritage of the Chinese music and speech

1987 Music camp at Ts'aoling 草岭

1987 Excursion and picnic, Wushant'ou Shuik'u 乌山头水库

1987 The army camp of Chinch'eng 精诚连

1988 Two days camping in K'enting 恒丁

The *Yinyueying* 音乐营 [Music Camp], organised by a zheng teacher Ch'en Hsinhua, was an interesting experience. It was a conference or workshop, where zheng teachers were invited to give talks and discuss zheng music. I learnt about this Music Camp from Ch'en Hsinhua himself, whom I knew because I had purchased zheng scores from him. Ch'en invited me to join the Music Camp. A group of us took a two hour bus journey from *Touliu* 斗六 to Ts'aoling, where the Music Camp was held. [50]

[50]Ch'en Hsinhua invited the author, Chan Kwok Hing, Ch'en Wen 陈雯, Ch'en Ch'inglung 陈庆隆 and together with about thirty of his students. At that time, Chan Kwok Hing and Ch'en Wen were about to get married. Ch'en Ch'inglung was the *qin* student of Ch'en Wen, and used to follow her wherever she went. This was typical Chinese traditional style in which the student would always stand by to give support to his teacher. Chan Kwok Hing was very famous at that time, and many zheng students wanted to learn from him.

On the first night, we had dinner, followed by viewing a videotape of a zheng performance by Hon Seewah. It was the first time that I had ever seen a twenty-one stringed zheng performance by a Mainland zheng musician. Hon's fingering techniques were very skilful and fast. Her rendition was clear and beautiful, and her posture was elegant. I was deeply captivated. Like many my interviewees, I could not understand how Hon could play like that. The melody was too fast; the notes too clear; the long tremolo too flexible, switching gracefully from loud to soft; and the musical expression too effortless. Everyone was amazed and started wondering why she could play so fast. Some noticed from the videotape that she had very long fingers, and concluded that that might be the reason.

Some thought it might have something to do with the posture of her arm and hand In fact, it was not possible to see the fingering techniques clearly in the video because of the distance and angle of filming. It was only when I went to Hong Kong to study under Hon a few years later in 1991 that I realised the problems. During the transition period, a lot of zheng musicians in Taiwan used different fingering techniques from Hon's. For instance, the angle at which the nails struck the strings was different, so that each note appeared to be unclear. The raised posture of the wrist caused the hand to get tired easily and was very difficult in sustaining long tremolos, with the result that dexterity was diminished and expression became difficult. Even under the direct instruction of Hon, it took me a year to understand the difference. On the second day of the Music Camp, Chan Kwok Hing supervised the teaching of twenty-one stringed zheng pieces. On the whole, the Music Camp provided a good opportunity for enthusiasts to learn more about the modern zheng tradition of the Mainland at a time when such information could not be

shared openly.

3.4.3 Local Activities

Zheng Musicians

Changes in zheng music in Taiwan stimulated by the introduction of the new Mainland "tradition" were not globalisation in the sense of the common usage of the term. One typical meaning of globalisation is "a process through which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe" (McGrew 1992:67). In readings from popular magazines like *The Economist*, "distant parts", often refer to distances commensurate with those between continents, such as America and Africa or Asia, as well as completely different cultures. Changes of zheng music in Taiwan are stimulated by events that took place in the Mainland, Singapore and Malaysia, which are neither "distant," nor very distinctive in culture. However, there are two ways in which ideas on globalisation are relevant. One is that the events in Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and the Mainland were shaped by globalising factors, such as colonialism and American foreign policy, and these invariably contributed to the way that changes in music or other aspects of culture took place in each country; another is that even though there was much in common among the Chinese cultures in these countries, the long separation of Taiwan from the Mainland had resulted in divergent development in certain aspects of their culture, such as zheng music. For these reasons, changes in zheng music in Taiwan stimulated by contacts with Singapore, Malaysia and the Mainland could be considered a form of globalisation. Appadurai (1996:191) comments

that: "The work of producing neighbourhoods ... is often at odds with the projects of the nation-state. This is partly because the commitments and attachments ... that characterize local subjectivities are more pressing, more common, more continuous, and sometimes more distracting than the nation-state can afford." One example is the problem created by zheng music during the transition period discussed in the previous section, particularly the way that zheng music was "more continuous" than the Nationalist government. There was a sense of continuity in zheng music that was motivated by ethnic identity in the zheng musicians in Taiwan. Many zheng musicians expressed that they wanted to "continue the Chinese tradition" by promoting zheng music. In this section, the role of zheng musicians in the production of the local culture is discussed. Interviews with a number of individuals showed that they had much in common in terms of personal experiences and ways in which they reacted to changes in zheng music. It was the actions of these zheng musicians that adapted the Mainland zheng tradition to the local context.

I have interviewed a number of well-known zheng musicians who first started learning zheng music around the 1970s, not long before the transition period. They include Wei Tei-Don, Cheng Teyuan, Huang Haoyin, Liao Wenchang, and Shih Ch'ingchieh. They might have known of the existence of zheng before, but most of them only really heard zheng music when they were at university or high school. They decided to learn because all of them thought that zheng music sounded very beautiful. They showed great interest and perseverance in their practise. They often had different professions before becoming zheng teachers. Wei Tei-Don, for example, was an art teacher, and Cheng Teyuan was an engineer. All of them decided eventually to devote

full time to a career in zheng teaching and performance. It should be noted that they were a completely different generation from zheng teachers of the early modern period, such as Liang Tsaip'ing, Huang Tsungshih[51] and Yang Ronghui, who came from the Mainland. Some of them were mainlanders, some were Taiwanese, but all of them grew up in Taiwan. This difference might or might not make them more open to innovations in zheng music. Yet, they readily changed to the twenty-one stringed zheng when the opportunity arose, even though all of them started with the sixteen stringed zheng. Huang Haoyin, for instance, first heard about the twenty-one stringed zheng as a result of the arrival of Chan Kwok Hing, and immediately decided to learn from him. Wei Tei-Don had seen the twenty-one stringed zheng in music shops in the 1970s. He also heard about Mainland zheng repertory, such as *Caoyuan Xiongying* and *Zhan Taifeng*, but did not know how to play them until seeing the performance of Chan Kwok Hing. He even travelled to Singapore to learn the twenty-one stringed zheng from Au Yong Eang. During the transition period, Au Yong Eang brought a specially designed twenty-six stringed zheng to Taiwan from Singapore. This zheng was made in Suzhou 苏州 on the Mainland. As mentioned previously, Wei Tei-Don tried to plan a performance with this zheng, and had even composed some music for it, but was forced to cancel the concert because of a warning from government agents that this twenty-six stringed zheng was illegal. He felt very sad that a mere instrument had to be subjected to such political scrutiny. Generally, zheng musicians during the transition period were worried about the authorities, but that did not stop them from practising and teaching the Mainland tradition

[51] The style of Huang Tsungshih belonged to the Chaozhou zheng school. His influence was largely restricted to the Taipei region in north Taiwan.

Commercialisation

Zheng teaching started getting more commercialised even before the transition period. In the early modern periods, enterprising zheng musicians like Liang Tsaip'ing would travel widely to perform, publicise zheng music, and attract students. Zheng teachers would set up classes, and interested students would pay for lessons. This was the mode that many zheng teachers, such as my interviewees above, still operated in the later periods. However, during the transition period, a significant amount of zheng teaching came to be systematically organised by businessmen. These were often owners of music shops or had related business concerns and might or might not be zheng musicians themselves. They would organise zheng classes in their shops with invited teachers. One objective was to boost the sale of zheng, which had a high profit margin. They would also go to schools regularly to exhibit and demonstrate their zheng to prospective students. I shall now discuss my personal experience as a zheng teacher during this period.

There is a saying in Taiwan among zheng musicians: *qianri pipa bairi zheng* 千日琵琶百日箏 [thousand days *pipa*, hundred days zheng], which means that it would take a thousand days to learn to play the *pipa*, but only a hundred days to play the zheng. It was generally acknowledged by zheng teachers and students that it was easy to learn the basic techniques of zheng, but difficult to play well. This might be one reason why many people like to learn zheng.[52] Initially, I got some students with the help of my friends and relatives, and I taught the sixteen stringed zheng music, based on Liang's score, at either my home or my students' homes, which were located in the two cities of Tainan

[52] This refers more to sixteen stringed zheng in the early modern period. The same cannot be said of the twenty-one stringed zheng, which is more difficult.

and Kangshan in the south of Taiwan.

Later, I mainly taught at a music shop known as *Huayin Yinyue Zhongxin* 华音音乐中心 [the music shop of Huayin], located in a four storey shop house in the city of Tainan. The landlord lived on the upper floors, and rented out the ground floor and basement to Huayin. Initially it was set up by a businessman and sold both Chinese and Western instruments. He also had many branches in different parts of Taiwan. Well-qualified music teachers were employed. Around 1983, the owner decided to sell his business. It was bought by a partnership of five musicians - T'an Chungch'üan 谭中权, Huang Meich'in 黄美琴, Cheng P'eiyi 郑佩仪, Wang Ch'ineng 王启能 and Hung Yingju 洪莹如 - who used to teach there, and who felt that they could get more business for the shop. They all had their own musical skills and their ages ranged from eighteen to twenty-five years old.[53] Each of them took out some money to set up the new music centre, which continued to use the name Huayin. Apart from teaching, each had specific roles. Tan dealt with negotiation with agents of musical instrument merchants, searching out local and overseas zheng factories to bargain for the best prices.[54] Cheng and Huang would rearrange their own zheng score and zheng recordings for the music centre. They would have weekly meetings to discuss all issues that related their business, such as signboard for the shop, advertisements, and brochures. They would organise promotions

[53] There were two zheng teachers, Ms Huang and Ms Cheng, who was my supervisor at the teacher training course, a guitarist Mr Wang, a grade eight pianist Ms Hung, and Mr T'an played both *yangqin* and *dizi*. Cheng and Hung had won prizes in music competitions. The criterion of selecting teachers who had won prizes in zheng competitions had generated an impact on zheng music practise during and after the transition period. This criterion effectively created a career path for students who aspired to be zheng teachers or performers.

[54] Because of increasing demand for tuning of piano and zheng, Tan subsequently started taking lessons in piano tuning and lessons on zheng. (The cost of tuning zheng was less than the cost of tuning a piano.)

in schools or other organisations, where they would display and give demonstrations of musical instruments, especially the zheng, and at the same time persuade students or customers to buy instruments or to take up lessons.

Music Shop

In 1983, the music shop of Huayin started offering a free zheng teacher training course. On passing the examination, the candidates would be appointed as full-time or part-time teachers at the music shop or its branches. Nevertheless, there were some conditions. For instance, the candidate must complete the training course and not be absent more than twice, and they must take two examinations. If they failed or stopped halfway, they must pay for the course. Usually the candidates would buy the twenty-one stringed zheng from the shop. This was at a time when not many people were learning to play the twenty-one stringed zheng, so the arrangement brought in good profit for the shop. The training course was a six-month intensive one, with a two-hour lesson twice a week. The class I attended had about twenty candidates, divided into groups of four to six. We learnt the twenty-one stringed zheng fingering techniques exercises first, followed by difficult sixteen-stringed zheng solo pieces. The twenty-one stringed zheng fingering techniques included long sections of thumb and index finger *yaozhi* and *payin*, which were not common in sixteen-stringed zheng repertories. At the final examinations, the candidates would be tested on selected pieces of the sixteen and the twenty-one stringed zheng music. Although the modern zheng piece (e.g. *Tianshang Renjian* 天上人间 [Paradise]) was relative simple, we had great difficulty learning it. Not only were the fingering techniques much more complex than the traditional ones we were used to, but

we also had to put on artificial nails, which were slippery and difficult to control.[55] There were three examiners: two internal, usually full-time zheng teachers in the music shop; and one external, usually a part-time teacher either in the music shop or well-known musician from outside. The examiners could not be the candidate's supervisors. The venue would be held in one of the classrooms at the music shop. After the examinations, there would be a small congregation, where the shop manager would announce the names of candidates who had passed.

This was the most systematic way of qualifying zheng teachers that I have ever seen in Taiwan. (There are zheng degree courses in some universities in later years, but the emphasis on academic performance meant that not many zheng students would be able to gain admission.) Instead of setting up a zheng class on one's own and trying for luck, the shops actually provided a fairly well organised system for certifying the standards of zheng teachers and finding students for them. The market-driven nature of the system meant that the shops had to ensure reasonable standards in order to establish a reputation to attract students.

A typical zheng class in the shop would be a ten-week course (two lessons per week and two hours per lesson) with usually four students. There are four types of courses: foundation course, intermediate course, advanced course, and the twenty-one stringed zheng course. If it were possible to fill up the schedule of every classroom in the shop with students, the zheng teachers would earn a comfortable income and the shop would receive a good commission. The music shop of Huayin sold both Taiwanese and

[55] In Taiwan, the traditional zheng music was often played by using real nails. Artificial nails were also worn, but on the same side of the fingers as the real nails, which felt more natural, like part of the real nail. For twenty-one stringed zheng, the artificial nails are worn on the opposite side of the finger tips to the real nails. (See Appendix A.)

Mainland zhengs.[56] Zheng teachers could earn a lot of commission by selling zhengs. During the transition period, the number of zheng students continued to increase from the early modern period, and zheng teachers were still not able to meet the demand. It was only by 1997 that some of my interviewees like Tan and Liao Wenchang, began to feel that the market was getting saturated.

After successfully passing the teacher training course, initially, I worked as a part-time teacher at the music shop, teaching mainly the sixteen-stringed zheng music. Zheng notations had not been standardised, and often differed from score to score, so that I had to learn many notations. My teaching was based on the scores of Ch'en Hsinhua (1986) and Shih Ch'ingchieh (1982), in addition to the shop's own scores. Some students liked to compare the differences in fingering techniques or teaching style between their previous teachers and me. Students who were transferred to me from other teachers were often unwilling to pay for new zheng scores initially, so I had to teach using their old ones. When I subsequently went to teach in other music shops, the owners there would ask what materials I wanted to use, and I would often recommend Ch'en's and Shih's, which had many popular and folk pieces adapted for the zheng, annotated with suitable fingering techniques, and graded in levels of difficulty. This made it not only easy for teachers to use, but also more interesting to beginners than the more traditional scores. Popular music was something that students could relate to, which they liked.[57] It forms a

[56] Before 1987, they sold twenty-one stringed zhengs made in Taiwan, and Mainland zhengs "imported" from Hong Kong. These were called *gangzhi* zheng 港智箏. After 1987 the ban of the martial law was lifted, and Mr Tan travelled to the Mainland to search for zheng factories. He complained that "Even if you have money, it did not mean that you would be able to buy from them unless you had very good relations and connections".

[57] My students liked Shih Ch'ingchieh's score because it contained various twenty-one stringed solo and ensemble pieces, with a combination of Taiwanese and Mainland folk songs. It also contained Shih's own compositions.

bridge for them into the world of zheng music. The use of popular music in zheng teaching was quite unusual during the transition period, but is becoming widely practised today by many new zheng teachers.

There were two main sources of income for a zheng teacher, from teaching and from selling the instrument. For my teaching, I would receive 70% of the students' course fees, and the other 30% went to the shop as commission, as it had to provide classrooms and advertisements, among other things. However, the ratio would vary in different music shops, and some teachers only received 60% or even 50%. Another important source of income was the sale of zheng to students. At that time, both sixteen and twenty-one stringed zhengs were sold in the shop. However, the partners would encourage teachers to push the sale of the twenty-one stringed zhengs, and for each successful transaction, the zheng teachers would receive a commission. In1985, I became a full-time teacher at the music shop. Not only did I have to teach, but I also had to help look after the shop. A few months later, I was transferred to a branch in Chungkuo Ch'eng 中国城, a popular shopping area in Tainan (photo 18). I was the only the full-time staff at the branch. I worked long hours, from 9:00 am to 9:00 pm, with an hour's break for lunch and for dinner, during which someone would take over while went out for meals. Each month I was given four days to rest.

The branch sold guitars, pianos, *dizi*, *erhu*, *pipa*, *yangqin* and *yueqin*, as well as their scores, tape recordings, artificial fingernails, electronic tuner, zheng accessories such as wooden stands, protective covers, casing, strings, etc. I was required to take as many students as I could within my working hours. I also did administrative work, such as arranging timetables for lessons of other instruments, and renting practise rooms to

Photo 18. Chungkuo Ch'eng branch of Huayin music centre[58]

students. I had to ensure the attendance of all the students in my branch. If students were late or absent, I had to make telephone calls to find out the reasons. I had to ensure that they pay their fees regularly on time, or remind them on the last lesson of the term. I had to make a weekly report of what had been sold, what was the income each week, what stocks needed replenishing, and what needed improving. Although the above paragraphs were based on my personal experience, I knew through my contacts with other teachers that this mode of commercialisation of zheng music was typical in Taiwan. Many other music shops were set up and their zheng businesses organised in similar ways.

[58] The author practising *pipa* (left) and zheng in 1988.

Independent Classes

Experienced and established zheng teachers could also independently organise their own zheng classes. There are common methods: one is to rent or buy a place and set up large classes there; another is to travel to the students' homes and teach individually. Most of the zheng musicians I have interviewed would operate by the first method. Teaching techniques varied widely. Zheng teachers often had certain preconceptions about teachers and students, and would design their own teaching approach accordingly. Wei Tei-Don, for instance, thought that the zheng teachers who could teach well and become famous were the amateur teachers. This opinion resonates with what Lee Tong Soon (1998) found among Chinese opera singers in Singapore, where professional singers tended to produce only minimum standards to remain employed, whereas amateur singers achieved higher standards because they were interested and serious. Wei felt that amateur students learnt better than those in professional schools. Students in the past who had poorer instruments and facilities also learnt better, whereas students today have more distractions and learn less well. In order to overcome this, Wei would use tape recordings and videotapes as teaching aids to make it easier for the students to absorb the teaching materials. He taught mainly in groups and his approach was to teach by stimulating the students through various means, and not by coercion. For example, he would make use of peer pressure, by encouraging the students to compare their standards with one another, in order to stimulate the weaker ones to work harder to improve. Wei did not teach Western music theory systematically. He would teach some as the need arose, but this would be largely limited to basic concepts such as scale, tempo, intervals and keys. He liked to give plenty of encouragement to his

students in the hope that they could practise hard at home. Sometimes, when his students felt tired of playing, he would ask them to stop for a period of time, go to a concert or go abroad to study under other teachers. Wei has spent a large amount of money to record videotapes of performances of many zheng musicians and competitions, which he would use as teaching materials and for research. His wish was to have a zheng memorial hall erected for him after he died, just like the one in Tokyo that was built for the great Japanese koto musician Miyagi Michio (Ayer 1997; Prescott 1997). Like Liang, who thought that students should study other arts and literatures in order to improve their expression of zheng music, Wei would design a lot of teaching material to teach his students about musical expression. Other zheng musicians, however, such as Liao Wenchang, believed that musical expression could not be taught, and must be understood by students on their own. Unlike Wei, Liao felt that Western music theory was very important and necessary in order to appreciate Chinese zheng music. For example, he strongly criticised a zheng musician who did not know what a major third was. Thus, the actual teaching of zheng music, and the ways that it was transmitted and interpreted to students, depended strongly on individual personalities of zheng teachers.

Ch'engta zheng school

One interesting development during the transition period was the appearance of a new zheng school in Taiwan, known as the *Ch'engta p'ai* 成大派 [Ch'engta zheng school] as it was widely called. It was interesting because Ch'engta was not a region in China, but a university in Tainan. It was, and is, the abbreviation of Ch'engkung Tahsüeh 成功大学 (National Cheng Kung University). Also, it was created in just a few years, instead

of the hundreds of years of the Mainland zheng schools (section 2.4.1). The appearance of the zheng school of Ch'engta was widely acknowledged by zheng musicians in Taiwan during the transition period, largely because the musical style of zheng students from this university was recognised to be distinctive and consistent. It was quite different from the styles of other zheng musicians in Taiwan, and zheng students there had largely similar styles.

In Ch'engta, older students would teach younger ones in small groups or individually. Practises could be in large group, with only zhengs, or with other Western and Chinese instruments. They were usually held in the evenings when lessons were finished, during the weekends, or for the small groups through individual arrangements. On sunny days, students would practise in the courtyard in front of the zheng club. Each year, several zheng concerts would be held to welcome new students or bid farewell to old ones. Also, the students would have to prepare for annual Chinese music competitions organised by the government. They often arranged outings or other activities to build closer relationships. The club maintained a bulletin board where advice on techniques or encouragement from old students would be pinned up. Some old students or well-known musicians were also invited to speak or give concerts.

Ch'engta zheng club did not have a unique repertory. They played largely music of the zheng school of Chaozhou, but also included pieces from Henan school, from Liang Tsaip'ing's repertory, from Chen Leishi, and student compositions. In the early years, they used the twenty-one stringed zheng with stainless steel strings, which was more common then, but some of them also used the nylon wound steel strings. One reason why the Ch'engta club was able to develop into a school could be because many of

its zheng students were creative (many had won prizes in competitions) and used traditional and modern techniques to compose new pieces. Many of their own compositions also became widely performed, and were used regularly in zheng competitions in Taiwan.

In most zheng classes or zheng schools, there would normally be some form of gap between teachers and students. The teachers may either be much older, or they may come from very different social backgrounds, or the relationship may be maintained economically through fee paying. In Ch'engta zheng club, zheng teachers were often students at the same university, usually one to three years older, and teaching was purely out of interest and free of charge. Ch'engta club had adequate instruments and space for zheng practise. Senior students were treated with reverence. Those who had graduated often came back to give talks on zheng music and help with teaching of new students. In the talks, they would not only encourage the students to practise well, but also give advice on morality and virtues. This was typical of the Confucian tradition, where teachers were more than disseminators of technical know-how. After these talks, senior students would often organise post mortems to discuss the advice given by the graduated students, some of whom had become famous musicians. Compared to other universities in Taiwan, the faculty was very advanced in terms of organisation, facilities and teaching. In 1986, in Tanchiang Tahsüeh 淡江大学 (Tamkang University) at the campus in Tamsui, Taipei, for example, the zheng club was comparatively small and students had to practise in the corridor.

In Ch'engta, new students called the senior students who taught them *shifu* 师父 [honourable form for teacher], a very respectful form for teacher. *Fu* means father, and

suggests that the teacher not only teaches zheng, but also provide a role model in life.[59] The students appeared to have a strong sense of mission to carry on the tradition and make Ch'engta zheng club famous. If a student were to lose a competition, he/she would be very sad and would put up notes on the bulletin board to encourage the junior students to practise hard and win the next time. I managed to learn modern zheng techniques from one of the zheng teachers there, Chien Hsienkuang. In 1984, Chien had already graduated with a Masters degree from the university and was doing his national service at the time in Kangshan 岡山, which was about forty minutes from Tainan by bus. He still came back regularly to help with the teaching during his national service period.

Two of the most famous zheng musicians from the Ch'engta zheng club were Cheng Teyuan and Liao Wenchang. Cheng later went to Maryland University in the United States, and wrote one of the first Ph.D. theses on zheng music in English (Cheng 1991).[60] Cheng did not know anything about the zheng until he went to Ch'engta to study engineering in 1968. There, he joined the Ch'engta zheng club, and started learning from Lin Junmao. Cheng complained that the teaching speed was too slow. Lin told him that he himself only learnt eight pieces of zheng music in eight years. As Cheng was very keen, he began transcribing zheng music from tape recordings released unofficially by Queens Records Company. Cheng learnt music of the Chaozhou school from his teacher in Ch'engta zheng club, and Henan and Shandong schools from the tape recordings. According to Cheng, in the 1970s, zheng musicians in Taiwan were most familiar with the styles of Liang Tsaip'ing and Huang Tsungshih, both of whom had released many albums. When Cheng was doing his national service, he joined the Chinese Orchestra of

[59] Lady teachers were also called *shifu*.

the China Broadcasting Corporation in Taipei. It was there that zheng musicians in Taipei first realised that his style of zheng music was distinctive from those of Liang and Huang.

According to Liao Wenchang, the earliest Ch'engta style came from Lin Junmao, the zheng school of Chaozhou. By the time Liao joined Ch'engta zheng club, it was already the sixth "generation" of students after Lin (one generation per year). By then, he found that 60% of the music they played came from the zheng school of Henan. The rest were from Liang Tsaip'ing's repertory and others. There was hardly any more Chaozhou zheng music. According to Liao, in those days, it was not possible to obtain Mainland zheng scores openly. There would often be meetings and discussions among zheng students in Ch'engta on this problem, and about where were the most popular sources of these "good stuff".

The main points discussed in this section are commercialisation of zheng music, activities of zheng musicians, teaching methods of individual zheng teachers, and the creation of a new zheng school. These apparently diverse issues have one thing in common: all of them had to contend with the problem of practising the zheng music of the Mainland during the period of martial law. The interrelation between these issues demonstrates how individual actions of businessmen, zheng teachers and zheng students resulted in the introduction and modification of the Mainland zheng music in Taiwan. Advances in transportation technology, whether by ship or by air, and increase in overseas travel and business, made it very difficult for government authorities to stem the flow of information on the zheng music of the Mainland into Taiwan. The twenty-one

stringed zheng music had to be discreetly practised, new fingering techniques had to be invented to play the music, and new modern zheng pieces were composed. The increasing demand made it profitable for businessmen to take part in not only manufacture and sale of the instruments, but also organising of zheng classes, resulting in large-scale commercialisation of zheng music. Underlying all these changes, much of the transmission and interpretation of zheng music still depended very much on the actions and personalities of individual zheng musicians. The appearance of Ch'engta zheng school was arguably the result of a synthesis of the introduction of the Mainland zheng tradition despite the martial law (nation-state), Mainland tape recordings on regional zheng schools (the electronic), visiting zheng musicians from abroad (the diasporic), and good prospects for aspiring zheng musicians as a result of commercialisation. In this way "the three factors that most directly affect the production of locality in the world of the present – the nation-state, diasporic flows, and electronic and virtual communities" (Appadurai 1996:198), were all present to catalyse the transition of zheng music from sixteen to twenty-one strings.

3.5 Modern Taiwan: After 1988

Transition to Democracy

The lifting of Martial Law in 1987 ushered in a new period, both for zheng music and for Taiwanese society. A series of rapid political changes took place, culminating in the defeat of KMT, the Nationalist government, in a democratic election in the year 2000 when political power was peacefully transferred to DPP, the Democratic Progressive

Party. Detailed information of the changes could be found in the Government Information Office website on the Internet.[61] The greater freedom, in making contacts with the Mainland and in individual expression within Taiwan, both stimulated the transition of zheng music to its present form. Zheng musicians in Taiwan today tend to follow the Mainland repertory and style closely. There is much interaction in the form of Taiwanese musicians travelling to the Mainland to learn, or Mainland musicians invited to Taiwan to teach. Before going into a discussion on the nature of zheng music today, an overview of the modern Taiwanese society and cross-straits relations provides the social and political background.[62]

Cross-straits Relation

In the late 1990s, the issue of cross-straits relation, a term that refers to the political relation between Taiwan and the Mainland, has become prominent on the international news, following the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997. Some of the highlights were: suggestion of independence by Taiwan's president, military exercise by the Mainland just off the coast of Taiwan, threats by the Mainland to use force for reunification, and United States arms sales to Taiwan. The following paragraph gives an overview of the development of cross-straits relations over the last few years, to provide some background on the interaction of nationalism and ethnicity, in particular the impact that government policies have on Taiwanese society. Most of these data can be obtained from the Internet, and some through talking with people from Taiwan and the

[61] Internet http://www.gio.gov.tw/, accessed on 16 Dec 2001.
[62] A narrow strip of sea, known as the Straits of Taiwan, separates Taiwan from the Mainland (see map 2). News commentators in Taiwan and the Mainland often refer to relations between the two countries as "cross-straits relations".

Mainland.[63] As such, it is necessary to verify the reports from a few different websites. It is interesting to note that Taiwanese and Mainland websites host reports that often hold divergent views on the similar issues, whereas American websites could not help being pro-democracy. On the other hand, Mainland Chinese I met in Singapore tended to support unification, whereas Taiwanese people I know often prefer to maintain the status quo. Fortunately, and possibly as a result of worldwide accessibility of the Internet, it is difficult to stray too much from the facts for major events, and many of the basic facts on the different websites do agree. As far as zheng musicians in Taiwan are concerned, despite the existing problems in cross-straits relations, they now have more freedom to travel to the Mainland, invite zheng teachers from the Mainland, and learn and collaborate with them. Taiwanese zheng compositions, such as *Kongque Dongnanfei* [Peacocks Fly Southeast] by Cheng Teyuan, are also performed by Mainland zheng music groups.

The following "timeline" gives a brief idea of the political relations in the past few years:[64]

1996 The Mainland conducted military exercise on the eve of the first free election in Taiwan. Large number of missiles were fired towards Taiwan, landing just short of the coastal regions. United States sent the largest fleet since Vietnam to the Straits of Taiwan.

1998 The United States president visited the Mainland and announced his support for

[63] Many major news networks today host websites providing timely international news. These include CNN, Economist, as well as Singaporean, Taiwanese and Mainland websites.
[64] http://www.infoplease.com/spot/taiwantime1.html

no independence for Taiwan

1999 Taiwan's president hinted at a move towards independence.

2000 The Mainland announced that it would take "drastic measures" if Taiwan became independent. The Pro-independence party won Taiwan's presidential election. The U.S. president approved the largest arms sales to Taiwan in a decade. The Mainland protested strongly.

2001 Taiwan formally eased restrictions on investment on the Mainland to speed up the integration of economies.

Less widely reported, but of more immediate significance to Taiwanese society, are the unofficial travels to the Mainland, particularly family reunions after half a century.[65] It should be noted that the feeling for the Mainland is likely to be stronger in the older generation than in the younger generation. In a report on this contrast,[66] an interviewee said that, "When I was five, my father began drawing maps for me of Fujian, and explained how to return home after the war was over." (This drawing of maps was also what Yang Ronghui did; since the ban was lifted in 1987 he has been travelling to Shanghai once every two years to have reunion with his family.) The interviewee, however, went on to say that, "My home, my family, my friends are all here, and Beijing's military threats have transformed the Mainland from a romanticized motherland into a dangerous stranger." The development of a local identity seems inevitable, Taiwan having separated for half a century from the Mainland (plus another half a century under

[65] "Family enjoys spring festival reunion." 30 Jan 2001. www.china.org.cn/english/2001/Jan/6940.htm. Accessed 12 Dec 2001.

[66] Kevin Platt, "Sharply Contrasting Views of the Future Divide Young from Old in Taiwan." *The Christian Science Monitor*. International. 7 Aug 1997. www.csmonitor.com/durable/1997/08/07/intl/intl.3.html. Accessed on 12 Dec 2001.

the Japanese). If the desire to follow the development of Mainland Chinese zheng music is motivated to a significant extent by ethnic identity, then this identity is likely to be more complex than a straightforward identification with the Mainland. It is likely to be modified by the Taiwanese locality, and contains a strong local component.

Bentuhua

It is interesting to note that in recent years, there was increasing interest to revive the pre-1949 cultures. "Starting in September 2001 ... primary school students are required to take at least one course on a local language [other than Mandarin], such as Southern Fujianese, Kejia, or an aboriginal language".[67] This is part of a wider movement known as *bentuhua* 本土化 [indigenisation]. This has also been called "Taiwanization"[68] or "nativization"[69] in English, and was supported by the government after 1987 because it had the potential of creating a culture with some degree of independence from that of the Mainland. Some zheng musicians I interviewed in 1997 also supported this movement, and felt that zheng music either based on Taiwanese folk melodies or of unique Taiwanese style should be composed. Cheng Teyuan, Shih Ch'ingchieh, Wei Tei-Don, Huang Haoyin, Liao Wenchang and others have already composed many Taiwanese style zheng pieces, not only for self-enjoyment, but also for themselves or their students to attend zheng competitions. Many zheng pieces composed by Taiwanese used fingering techniques which bore much resemblance to those of

[67] Note that the Taiwan Government Information Office website (http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/brief/language.htm) officially calls Kejia "Hakka", and Minnanese "southern Fujianese".
[68] Huang, Sandy, "Tzeng says colleges must help Taiwanization effort" in Taipei Times 16 Oct 2001. Internet http://www.taipeitimes.com/news/2001/10/16/story/0000107323 Accessed on 17 Dec 2001.
[69] Wang, Kung-yi, "Reflection on what nativization means," Taiwan New.com 17 Aug 2001 Internet http://www.etaiwannews.com/Opinion/2001/08/17/998021699.htm Accessed on 17 Dec 2001.

Mainland modern zheng pieces (Cheng 1991:201). Even in 1980s, zheng music albums with a Taiwanese flavour have been released, and their scores published. The government has been encouraging and giving awards for the young composers.

Economy

From the previous section, the discussion on commercialisation of zheng music during the transition period shows that zheng music was highly dependent on the economy of the rest of Taiwan. The car advertisement in figure 7(b), for instance, did contribute toward performance expense in the early modern period. As was typical in developed countries, the economy in Taiwan was highly differentiated, and exchanges of services and goods took place through the medium of money. I had taught zheng students who had many different professions, such as food caterer, jewellery maker, university lecturer, accountant, journalist, nurse, etc. Zheng music was an integral if small part of the Taiwanese economy, and would potentially get more popular or decline depending on whether or not the society has enough time and money for cultural activities, after devoting a significant part of the time on economically productive activities, and after taking care of the basic needs. It would be relevant to look briefly at the economy on which zheng music relies. According to The Republic of China Yearbook 2001, the Taiwanese economy could be divided into three major sectors after 1980 – service, industry, and agriculture.[70] Agriculture had declined significantly in importance since being a major source of national income in 1949. The service sector had become the most important. It encompassed finance, commerce, social services,

[70] "The Economy: Services" in *The Republic of China Yearbook 2001* Internet http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/chpt10-3.htm Accessed on 16 Dec 2001.

transportation, commercial services, government services, and others. Since 1988, the main exports from Taiwan were to the USA, Japan and Hong Kong, with a smaller percentage to Europe and Southeast Asian countries. Trade with the Mainland had increased rapidly since 1987. In 1987, the total trade with the Mainland stood at about US$2 billion. This suggests that before lifting of martial law, there was already significant amount of business exchanges. It could have been these business dealings that facilitated the flow of information on Mainland zheng music to Taiwan during the transition period. In 2001, the Taiwanese government officially eased restrictions on Taiwanese investments in the Mainland, and vice versa, though such restrictions had often been circumvented in the past by going through a third country.

The modern economic organisation has affected zheng music in various ways, both positive and negative. Since around 1996, zheng musicians who perform in a city sponsored *yüehtuan* 乐团 [music group, or Chinese orchestra] have been recognised as full time civil servants. This means that, not only would the zheng musician have a stable job with good income, but he would also enjoy a pension on retirement. In order to get such positions, zheng musicians have to do well in written examinations administered by the government. Another impact of economy is on zheng making. When many Mainland zhengs were imported to Taiwan in recent years, a number of zheng factories lost their business and closed down in Taiwan. On the other hand, government policies in relation to the national economy also have an impact. In 1999, the Taiwanese government implemented five working days per week, instead of five and a half. As a result, many traditional festivals like *K'ungtzu Tanch'en Chinienjih* 孔子诞辰纪念日 [Confucius birthday] on 28 September (which is also teacher's day in Taiwan), and *Hsinghsien*

Chinienjih 行宪纪念日 [Constitution Memorial Day] on 25 December no longer enjoyed any national holiday. Zheng activities were directly affected, as zheng concerts were often scheduled on public holidays when people did not have to work and had time to attend.

Education

In Taiwan, the "*Constitution of the Republic of China* entitles all children to at least six years of basic education".[71] This had been strictly enforced and was increased to nine years in 1968. The resulting high enrolment rate meant that in Taiwanese society, children from about six to fifteen years old spent most of their time in schools. After that they either continued to higher education or came out to work. When they did come out to work, they would spend most of their time at work. So a student of zheng music in Taiwan typically spend most of the time studying or working, and practise zheng music or attend zheng classes after school or after work. It is therefore of interest to take a brief look at this national education to see what impact if any it might have on zheng music. Schools in Taiwan are divided into elementary schools, junior high, high schools and universities, as well as preschools, vocational institutes and educational establishments catering for special needs. From 1949 until now, there was a significant increase in literacy, enrolment rate, and proportion of students in higher education. The literacy rate increased from 58% in 1952 to 95.3% in 1999, the enrolment rate from 77.5% to 99.92%.[72] The actual increase in number was very large if the increase in population is

[71] "The Education Mainstream" in *The Republic of China Yearbook* 2001. Internet http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/chpt17-1.htm Accessed on 16 Dec 2001.
[72] "The Education Mainstream," *The Republic of China Yearbook 2001*. Internet http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/chpt17-1.htm Accessed on 16 Dec 2001.

considered. Since 1949, when the Nationalist government first migrated to Taiwan, the medium of instruction in school had been in Mandarin Chinese. Today, the elementary schools have to give lessons in the various native tongues, such as Minnanese, as part of the *bent'uhua* (Taiwanisation) movement. It is easy to get a brief overview of the current curriculum by looking at the Taiwan Ministry of Education website[73] on the Internet. The website not only has numerous government reports about education in Taiwan, but it also has links to the websites of many schools in Taiwan, which provide some data on the activities and curriculum in these schools. The actual academic subjects taught in the curriculum appear similar to what I had in the 1970s. Subjects such as Chinese language, history, science, and mathematics have not changed. However, there are important differences, apart from a significant emphasis on computer education. Although the Three Principles of the People of Sun Yat-sen are mentioned, little is said of the Counter Attack ideology on the websites. The only discussion about the Mainland on the websites, apart from Chinese history, appears to be a ministry report on comparison of education on the Mainland with Taiwan. Nor is the Mainland government referred to as "robbers" in this report. There is also emphasis on inculcating the concept of democracy in schools. On the whole, there is a subtle shift in government attitude away from the confrontational attitude that used to be adopted towards the Mainland during the martial law period from 1949 to 1987.

However, as far as zheng music is concerned, it appears that the interest towards Mainland zheng music has not been suppressed by the government attitude towards the Mainland. It grew during the transition period despite the ban. One aspect of the national education is likely to have the greatest impact on zheng music. This is the

[73] Taiwan Ministry of Education Internet website www.edu.tw. Accessed on 20 Dec 2001.

Chinese medium of instruction, with an emphasis on Chinese language and history. One of the elementary school websites,[74] for instance, contains, among other teaching resources, a comprehensive online collection of Chinese poems. Not only is the whole of the popular *Tangshi Sanbaishou* 唐诗三百首 [Three hundred Tang dynasty poems] found there, but also poems from many other dynasties in China. This would obviously build the necessary foundation for musical expression in zheng music, as explained in section 3.3.4.

This section has provided an overview on various aspects of the Taiwanese society today. These include transition to democracy, cross-straits relations, economy and education, all of which are closely related to the development of zheng music in Taiwan. The transition to democracy means a much greater freedom for zheng musicians in Taiwan to interact with zheng musicians on the Mainland. The predominantly Chinese ethnic composition is significant because zheng is played mostly by Chinese people. Economic production and education claim the bulk of the time of people in Taiwan. Economy governs how zheng music activities are organised and to some extent motivated Education provides the knowledge of Chinese language and history, both of which contribute to an appreciation of zheng music.

3.6 Zheng Music: The Recent Period

From the development of twenty-one stringed zheng music during the transition

[74] Fu Hsin Elementary School www.fhes.tn.edu.tw Accessed 19 Dec 2001

period and the easing of restrictions on travel to the Mainland after 1987, it is clear, that Mainland zheng music would become widely practised in Taiwan. The changes in government policies have resulted in increased contacts between Chinese in Taiwan and the Chinese on the Mainland. This section focuses on the development of zheng music in Taiwan during the recent period, from 1988.

Travels of Musicians

The rapid change to the twenty-one stringed zheng music after 1987 was largely due to the increased flow of information and goods between the Mainland and Taiwan. This happened in many forms, including travel by Taiwanese zheng musicians to the Mainland to learn zheng music, invitation of Mainland zheng musicians to Taiwan to teach and perform and collaborations between Mainland and Taiwanese musicians to release recordings on zheng music, and between Mainland and Taiwanese zheng makers to improve instrument quality.

Zheng musicians who travel to the Mainland to learn are able to use the skills and repertory that they have gathered to attract more students in Taiwan who want to learn the modern zheng pieces. Chuang Kuonien, for instance, has travelled widely in the Mainland to learn zheng music, and collected a wide variety of zheng scores. On returning to Taiwan, he edited and used them to make his own arrangements to publish as teaching materials. He also gave Mainland scores freely to zheng musicians who requested; this helped him to build good business relations. Famous Mainland zheng musicians such as Cao Guifen 曹桂芬,Fan Shang'e and Zhang Yan 张燕 have been invited to Taiwan to teach and perform.

This was part of a wider trend for Chinese music. Mainland masters of other instruments, such as *dizi, erhu* and *pipa* had also been invited to Taiwan (Hsü 1993) to give workshops. After 1987, restrictions on publications have largely been relaxed. For instance, *Peishi Kuoyue* 北市国乐 [National Music of Taipei], a magazine on Chinese music published in Taiwan, contains frequent articles on Mainland Chinese music. Some of the relevant information includes Mainland zheng musicians being invited to Taiwan to give concerts and interviews and vice versa, tutorials on Chinese instruments written by Mainland zheng musicians (Zhan 1996), children's zheng competitions in Nanjing,[75] and zheng competitions in Taiwan in which Mainland zheng musicians are invited to compete. The advertisement of a Nanjing zheng competition is particularly curious. Nanjing is a city located on the Mainland. The children's competition was scheduled for 1994, when transport arrangements to the Mainland, though permitted, were not exactly easy even for adults. It was necessary to apply for visas to Hong Kong and the Mainland fly to Hong Kong first, then take a train inland, and change trains possibly at Guangzhou and Shanghai. In the year 2001, family reunions between Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese continued to make headlines (section 3.5), partly because travel arrangements were not altogether trivial. I do not know whether any Taiwanese child had actually travelled to Nanjing to take part in that competition, though it was not impossible. Another curious aspect of the magazine is its position with regard to cross-straits relations. For instance, despite the phrase *Kuoyue* in the magazine title 'National Music' referring to both the zheng music of Taiwan and of the Mainland, one of the articles refers to Taiwan as *kuonei* 国内 [domestic] and the Mainland as *haiwai* 海外

[75] China Children Zheng Competition (1994).

[overseas].[76] While this may not reflect the official position of the magazine on the political status of Taiwan, it does reveal the divergent views among Taiwanese musicians on cross-straits relations.

Zheng Making

Zheng making has been another area of collaboration between the Mainland and Taiwan, although in this case, the flow of information or knowledge is sometimes reversed. In the modern economy, many businesses carry out product research and development in one country, and mass production in another country where labour costs are much lower. Many business investments, particularly in food and electronics, by Taiwan in the Mainland, follow this model. The zheng making industry shows a similar trend. Initially, the zheng makers in Taiwan had to import *wutong* [paulownia], the main type of wood used for zheng, from the Mainland. According to Liao Wenchang, although Taiwan has a lot of paulownia, the wood quality was poor and porous because the Japanese had applied methods to speed up its growth during the colonial times from 1895 to 1945. The Chunghua 中华 zheng factory in Taiwan, founded in 1967, was well known for the quality of zheng produced. It was owned by two brothers, Wei Taomou 魏道谋 and Wei Taohua 魏道华 (Li Ch'unyu and Liu Lienchu 1993). The former was a zheng musician, the latter a physicist. They invested in much research and development to improve the quality of the zheng. For instance, physics and engineering methods have been applied to measure and calculate the vibrational modes of zheng, and different wood and string materials were studied to optimise the performance (Cheng 1997). They

[76] Introduction to Composers (1996).

continually carried out research to find the best lacquer, best cutting method, best wood, and best design that could produce the best sound quality. The result of this research was then used to develop better quality zheng for mass production.

This chapter has shown three distinct periods of zheng music in Taiwan – the early modern period from 1949 to 1980, transition period from 1981 to 1987, and recent period from 1988. From my discussion concerning the corresponding history and politics, a clear correlation can be seen between these and the development of zheng music. In the first period, the ideology of nationalism resulted in three decades of isolation from the Mainland, despite strong ethnic bonds with people in Taiwan, both in terms of historical origin and family relations. The corresponding zheng music, and its repertory and style, depended solely on developments by pioneering Taiwan-based zheng musicians such as Liang Tsaip'ing. In the second period, globalisation factors, in the form of electronics media and the modern economy, began to erode national barriers and resulted in a flow of information from the Mainland despite a ban on communication. This led to a rapid transition of zheng music towards the Mainland style, based solely on limited knowledge gained from printed scores, tape recordings, the occasional videotapes, and inspirations from Malaysian and Singaporean musicians, with little or no direct contact with any Mainland zheng musician. In the third period, once the restriction on travel to the Mainland was lifted, zheng music in Taiwan became rapidly converted to the new twenty-one stringed Mainland "tradition".

As zheng music is very much a part of a sense of Chinese ethnicity, the strong attraction that Taiwanese zheng musicians feel for the Mainland tradition may be

interpreted as being motivated by a need for ethnic identity. The events discussed in this chapter show that, whereas ethnic sentiments are favourable to the transnational development of zheng music, nationalism tends to favour only local development. In this way, interaction between ethnicity and nationalism has a strong impact on zheng music.

Chapter 4

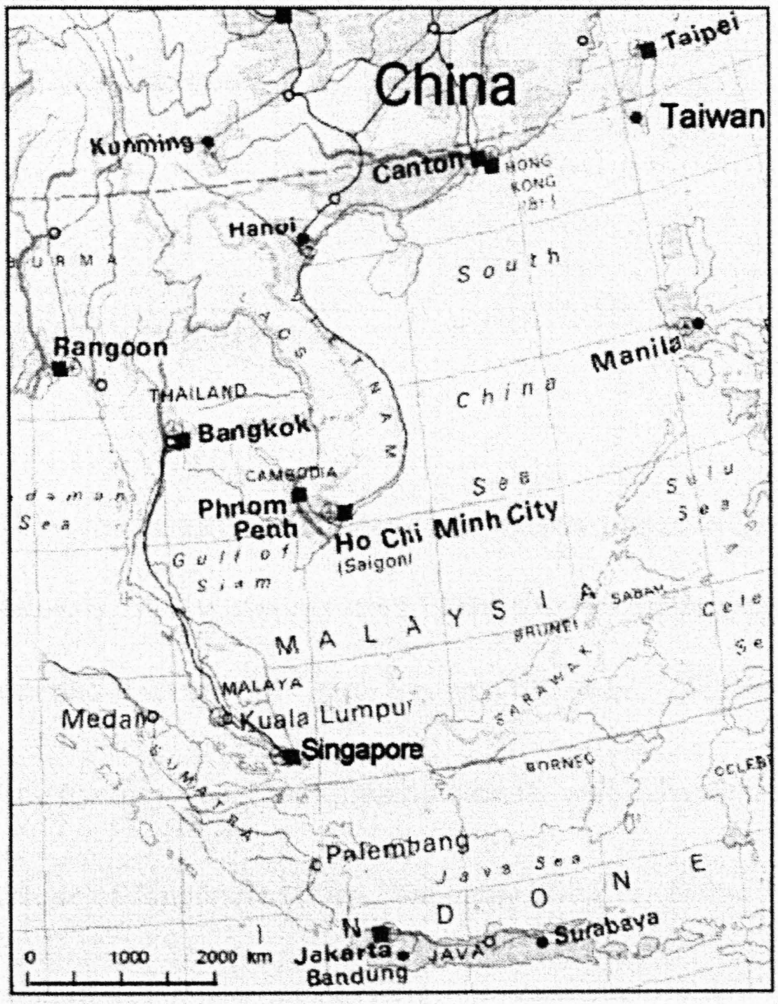
Zheng Music in Singapore

4.1 Introduction

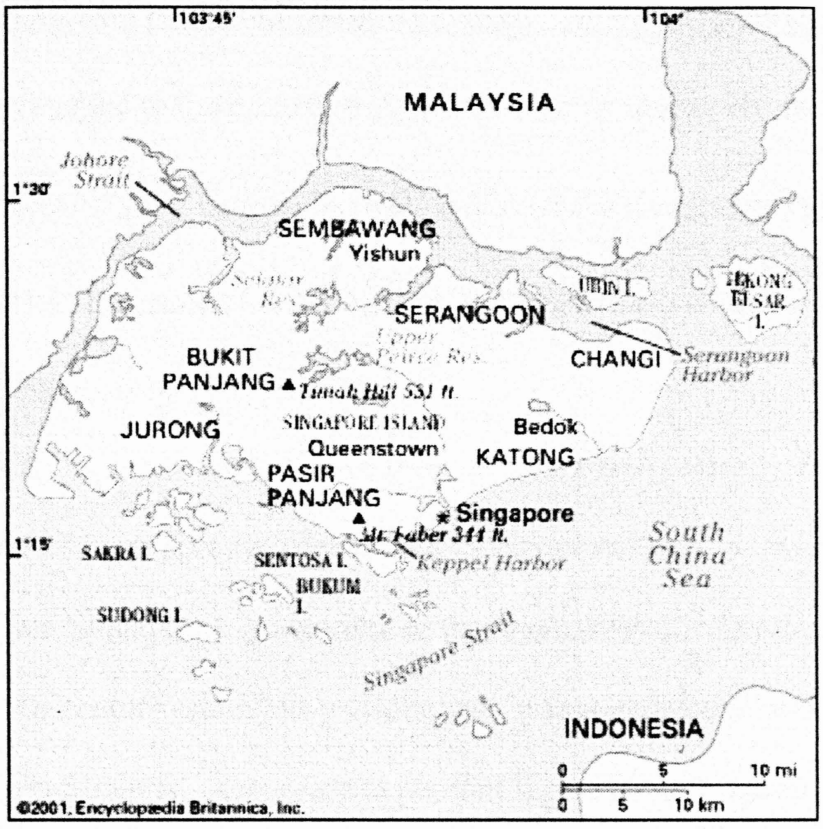
Singapore is a society that was created by immigrants who arrived largely during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, mainly from the Mainland, with a smaller number from India and the Malayan peninsula. Geographically, it is a small island, only forty-two kilometres at its widest, and situated at the tip of the Malayan peninsula (Lepoer 1989: Country Profile), giving it the strategic advantage that ships in the nineteenth century going between Europe and China usually needed to pass through Singapore (see map 3 and 4). This attracted the British colonialists and stimulated its rapid growth as an entrepot. The resulting need for workers attracted the large number of immigrants. Most of these eventually left. Those who remained after World War II formed the society upon which the nation was built in 1965. This was a multiracial society. In 2000, the estimated total population was 3.26 million, with about 76.8 percent Chinese, 13.9 percent Malays and 7.9 percent Indians, and the rest of other races (Layton and Pang 2001:17; Leow Bee Geok 2001; Singapore Department of Statistics 2001). The percentage of Chinese has remained fairly stable around 70 percent over the past century, despite the population increase (Ackermann 1997:24).

Zheng music development in Singapore can be divided into four periods: the years prior to 1964; 1965 to 1980; 1981 to 1990; and the years after 1990. Each period appears to correspond to some significant political development. 1965 was the year

Singapore became an independent nation, 1980 was not long after the end of China's Cultural Revolution, and the 1990s were when Singapore's government started to welcome foreign talents. In section 2 of this chapter, relevant aspects of Singaporean history are discussed. Section 3 describes Chinese music in general in the first period. Section 4 discusses the nation building process after 1965. Section 5 is about zheng music development after independence. The first part discusses the initial decline. The second part is on the growth of the modern zheng music. The third part explores the growing popularity of zheng music in the fourth period.



Map 3. The relative position of the Mainland, Taiwan and Singapore. (Oxford/Philip 1978:39)



Map 4. Singapore.[1]

4.2 History of Singapore

Pre-colonial Days

Prior to 1819, the history of Singapore was closely linked to the history of Indonesia and Malaysia. A few records from China showed the presence of Chinese living in Singapore and trading with China for over 700 years. *Zhufanzhi* 诸蕃志, written in 1225 in the Song dynasty, recorded shipping activity with *Lingyamen* 凌牙门, an ancient Chinese name of Singapore (Chen Hongneng 2001:7). *Daoyi Zhilue* 岛夷志略, written in 1349, mentions Chinese people living in *Longyamen* 龙牙门, Singapore's

[1] Downloaded from Yahoo!Education – Internet website. Accessed on 6 Jun 2003. acchttp://education.yahoo.com/reference/encyclopedia/illus/1056603.html - Accessed in Jun 2003.

harbour, and trading with China. In the Ming dynasty, during the 1405 to 1433 period, Zheng He 郑和 travelled to the Southeast Asia a number of times. His navigation map, recorded in *Wubeizhi* 武备志 written in 1621, indicated the location of *Danmaxi* 淡马锡, which was Temasek, the name of old Singapore recorded in a fourteenth-century Javanese chronicle, the *Nagarakertagama*.

Apart from the small number of Chinese people who traveled to Singapore from China, the history of Singapore was dominated by power struggles of the region (Lepoer 1989: Temasek and Singapura). According to the *Sejarah Melayu* (*Malay Annals*), a Malay seventeenth-century chronicle, a trading city was founded on the island by a ruler from Palembang in Sumatra. According to popular legend, he saw a lion on the island and named it Singapura, which meant lion city. In the 1400s, the city was frequently raided by the Javanese empire to the south, and the Thai kingdom to the north. In 1511, the sultan of Malacca fled to Johore when Malacca was invaded by the Portuguese, and set up a sultanate there, which included Singapore. In 1613, the Portuguese invaded Singapura, which was then abandoned for two centuries. In the eighteenth century, Singapore was controlled by Temenggong Abdu'r Rahman, a high official of the Johore Sultanate. He left the neighbouring Riau for Singapore in 1818, after the Sultan signed a treaty with the Dutch to allow them to station in Riau. His followers included a few hundred Malays who settled around the Singapore River and lived by fishing, growing fruits, trading and sometimes piracy. Large pirate ships plied between Riau and Singapore. Other inhabitants included a few hundred local Malays, and about thirty Chinese. This was the setting in which Raffles met the Temenggong in the following year and signed Singapore into colonial history.

British Colonialism

British colonialism in Singapore lasted from 1819 to 1965. A few aspects of the period from 1819 to 1900 are of relevance to the discussion of ethnicity, nationalism and zheng music in Singapore today. These include: the founding of Singapore by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles in 1819, the role of Singapore as an entrepot, the large number of Chinese immigrants from the Mainland, the separation of Chinese ethnic groups into different geographic location, and the ethnic composition of the immigrant population. Most of the historical data in this section are obtained from: Lepoer (1989), Cui Guiqiang (1994) and Ackermann (1997). Lepoer (1989) also contains a comprehensive bibliography on the history of Singapore.

Raffles, who arrived in Singapore in 1819, became important in the context of Singaporean nationalism after it gained independence from the British, as the symbolic founder of modern Singapore. A Briton, who was not related to any of the major ethnic groups in Singapore, and a colonial master at that, was selected to avoid favouring any particular ethnic group in the multiracial society of Singapore. Raffles implemented a policy of free trade for Singapore. After he returned to England, subsequent governors continued to develop Singapore into an important entrepot, with trading relations with Europe, India and the Mainland. This development required and attracted a large number of immigrants from the Mainland, India and Malaya. Raffles's initiative was therefore a great success, and set the path for the rapid commercial growth of Singapore. With this credential, therefore, the new government of Singapore after 1965 was able to name Raffles as the founder of Singapore, instead of someone from one of the residential ethnic groups, without arousing disagreements among the groups. In order to provide the labour

required to operate this entrepot, the British colonialists actively sought immigrants. The result of this active recruitment was a rapid increase in the number of immigrants arriving in Singapore in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

It is not known whether zheng music existed in Singapore in the nineteenth century. A travel log written in the late nineteenth century (Li Zhongyu 1887:12) carried the following description about Chinatown in Singapore: "Chinatown is the place where many restaurants, theatres and brothels were gathered. It is the most crowded and most filthy of places. ... In the Chinatown area, there are brothels everywhere, with a total of 3,000 registered prostitutes, and innumerable unregistered ones. They are the entire Guangdong dialect group, and were either sold to Singapore or grew up here." In Jiao Wenbin (1996), there were descriptions of ancient China, particularly for the Yuan dynasty, about brothels where zheng music was popular. It is therefore possible that zheng music was also played in nineteenth century Singapore for entertainment. A Guangdong opera group *Liyuan Tang* 梨園堂 was already set up in Singapore in 1857 (Cui 1994:94). Li Zhongyu (1887:13) also recorded his observation of Guangdong, Minnan and Chaozhou operas. Although Vaughan (1897:85) had observed only the use of percussion instruments in some of the operas, it was not unlikely that other Chinese musical instruments, including zheng, were used, as was the practice in operas in both ancient China (e.g. Jin 1994:413) and modern Singapore (e.g. Er Woo Amateur Musical & Dramatic Association 1997).

Dissatisfaction with colonial rule played a significant role in the history of the first half of the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, in order to generate revenues for public works, the government sold opium and operated gambling dens

(Lepoer 1989: Early Administration and Growth). Revenues were used to build all the necessary infrastructures to ensure that the island ran smoothly as an entrepot, such as commercial buildings, shipyards and police stations. A small number of English schools[2] were also set up to provide minimal English education for administrative support of the colonial government.

In the nineteenth century, however, Chinese immigrants who wished to provide Chinese education for their children had to find their own solution. These usually took the forms of small classes sponsored by individual dialect groups. As early as 1829, a number of Chinese "schools" existed, each with ten to twenty students (Buckley 1867:206). After 1849, rich philanthropists began making substantial donations to establish schools (Cui Guiqiang 1994:150), a practice that continued into the twentieth century. The objective of Chinese education was to preserve Chinese culture. As a newspaper at the time commented (*Lat Pau* 1890), the purpose of setting up Chinese schools in Singapore was to instil the knowledge of Confucius, poetry and classical texts, in order to transmit the good Chinese culture to the culturally barren ground of Singapore.[3] The efforts made by the early Chinese immigrants to provide Chinese education for their children were evidence of their need to maintain their ethnic identity. This same motivation continued into the first half of the twentieth century, when it was manifested in a rapid increase in Chinese schools, student movements and growth of Chinese music groups.

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[2] E.g. Raffles Institution, St Joseph's Institution, St Andrew's School (Cui Guiqiang 1994:49).

[3] A Mainland zheng master made a similar comment in 1991, calling Singapore a "cultural desert", after travelling there to perform in a concert. I have observed similar sentiment among both Singaporean and foreigners. This might have stemmed from the fact that cultural activities like zheng music tend to be popular only among a small part of the population.

Segregation of races

The development of Singapore as an entrepot started the globalisation process which was to have an impact on the society created by the immigrants who eventually stayed. However, this impact was limited. That it is limited is a fact that is clear from the strong sense of ethnic identity that still exists today not only in each of the three main races of Chinese, Malays and Indians, but also in each dialect group of the Chinese.[4] That it is surprising is because of the two hundred-year-long exposure to Western influence, and close proximity in living together of these three races. Yet, Raffles was sensitive to ethnic differences, even among Chinese. He had ordered the division of residential areas not only according to races, but also according to different Chinese dialect groups (Ackermann 1997:27) – see figure 10.[5] Although these areas were usually within walking distance of one another, the dialect groups had preferred to remain largely segregated. Today, ethnic boundaries remain, albeit not geographically. Although many of their descendants are likely to have intermarried and moved to live in other parts of Singapore, dialects are still widely spoken and festivities unique to each dialect group are celebrated by many Chinese in Singapore.[6] The persistence of these cultural traits or ethnic markers could be understood as manifestations of a more fundamental desire to maintain a separate sense of ethnic identity.

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[4] One apparent exception was the Straits Settlement Chinese, or the Baba, as this ethnic group was commonly known (Cui Guiqiang 1994:98). They were Chinese who have intermarried with the Malays for a few centuries and developed their unique culture that seemed to borrow from both the Malays and the Chinese.

[5] For instance, the Chinese lived in the area around Chinatown, the Malays lived in Geylang Serai area, and the Indians lived around Little India. Among the Chinese, Guangdong dialect group (Cantonese) would live in Chinatown, Fujianese dialect group in Telok Ayer region, Hainanese dialect group in Beach Road area, and Kejia dialect group in South Bridge Road area.

[6] That this is possible may be partly attributed to the fact the Chinese is a patrilineal society, in which children not only adopt the same surname as the father's, but also speak the same dialect.

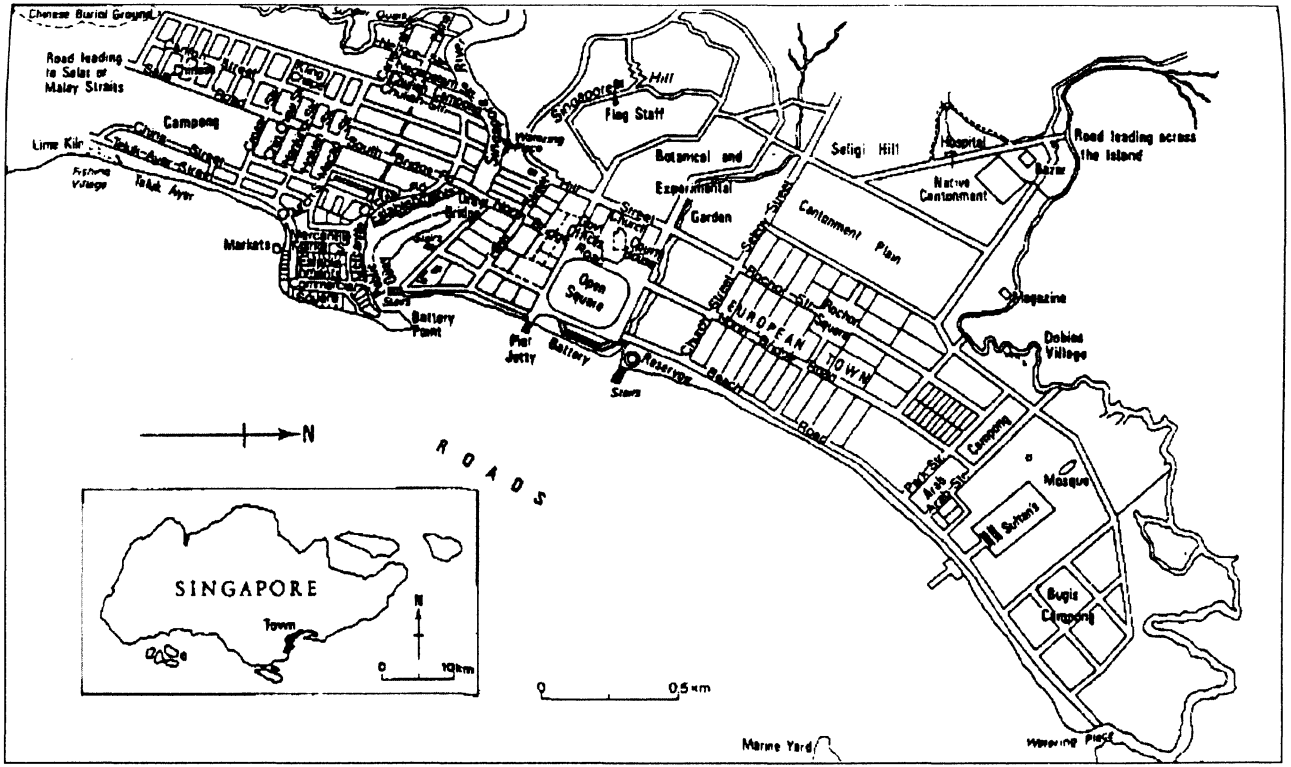

Figure 10.

Plan of the Town of Singapore by Leicutenant P. Jackson, Drawn According to Raffles's Instruction to the Town Committee of November 1822 (Yeoh 1996:42)

Chinese Ethnic Identity

In the first part of the twentieth century from 1900 to 1965, a number of events are of relevance to the discussion of ethnicity, nationalism and zheng music in Singapore today. These include: the rise of nationalism after World War II, and establishment of Chinese schools and student movements. All of these appear to be related to Chinese schools in one way or another. Chinese schools in Singapore during this period played a major role in transmitting Chinese culture, in politics and nationalism, and in the development of Chinese music. This period provided the clearest manifestation of the strong ethnic link of the Chinese people in Singapore with the Mainland. As Chinese schools appear to be the nurturing ground of both political and Chinese musical activities, their development will be discussed in more detail in this section.

At the turn of the century, Qing dynasty officials and later Nationalists from the Mainland visited Singapore. Under their influence, the number of Chinese schools increased rapidly. These Chinese schools made use of textbooks imported from the Mainland, which instilled patriotism toward the Mainland (Cui Guiqiang 1994:156). From the 1930s to 1960s, Chinese school students came under the influence of Communists from the Mainland. Anti-Japanese feelings helped the communists to gain support among the Chinese population. During World War II, the communists moved into the rainforest and fought against the Japanese as guerrillas. The struggle for power continued after the war. With the intention of creating a new communist society, they mobilised the students and struggled to wrest power from the British, both openly and underground (Lee Ting Hui 1966:7). The British indifference to the needs of the people did not help to shift the loyalty of the Chinese students from the Mainland. In the 1950s

and 1960s, Chinese music, which was largely organized by Chinese schools, reached very high standards. Eventually, in the open struggle for power, the communists lost to the non-communist People's Action Party 人民行动党 (PAP), which then made communist activities illegal. Chinese music might have been used by the communists, given the examples in the Mainland to follow (see section 2.3). From my interviews, it is known that some of the prominent Chinese musicians were linked to the communists. Many Chinese music groups were disbanded and some leaders went to jail.[7] Many musicians had changed their profession or left the country. It is not clear how much this was related to the banning of communism, but the banning coincided with a period of decline in Chinese music in the 1970s.

Of some relevance to the sentiments of zheng musicians today might be the condition under which the arrests were carried out. A well-known example in Singapore was the case of Chia Thye Poh, a former Member of Parliament of the opposition party who was arrested in 1969. He was detained for thirty-two years under the Internal Security Act, which allowed arrest and detention without trial. Although all he had to do was to "renounce violence and sever alleged ties with the Communist Party of Malaya" (Hamilton 1998),[8] he refused on the grounds that this would have meant admitting to guilt. In 1997, some of my Singaporean interviewees were hesitant to talk about the events of the 1960s. The mass arrests during this period and the Internal Security Act (ISA), which still allows detention without trial, could have contributed to this unwillingness.

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[7] This information has been obtained through interviews with a number of zheng musicians in Singapore.
[8] This is just one of the many news articles that can be accessed on the internet by searching the keywords "Singapore communist Chia Thye Poh".

4.3 Zheng Music Before 1965

The rise in popularity of Chinese music in the 1950s and 1960s came after half a century of efforts by Nationalists and Chinese businessmen to promote and improve the standards of Chinese culture in Singapore, and to nurture patriotism to the Mainland by the setting up of Chinese schools. These actions had the direct effect of strengthening the ethnic links between the Chinese in Singapore and the Mainland, which eventually contributed to the later development of zheng music.

Early Chinese Music

In the early periods, zheng music in Singapore tended to be closely linked to Chinese orchestras and opera groups. A Chinese orchestra in Singapore was made up of a group of members playing a number of different Chinese musical instruments, typically *dizi*, *erhu*, *pipa*, *yangqin* and, sometimes, zheng (see photo 19). Before 1965, zheng music performance did not seem to exist outside Chinese orchestras and opera groups. So the development of zheng music in this period would have to be discussed largely in terms of Chinese music development. From interviews with a number of zheng musicians, it is known that, in terms of numbers of concerts, turnout of audience, and level of performance, Chinese music was very popular and reached very high standards in the 1950s and 1960s. That this was so is also evidenced by the fact that a number of prominent Chinese musicians and conductors who left Singapore in the 1960s and 1970s went on to become famous in Hong Kong and Taiwan (Goh 1998:16).

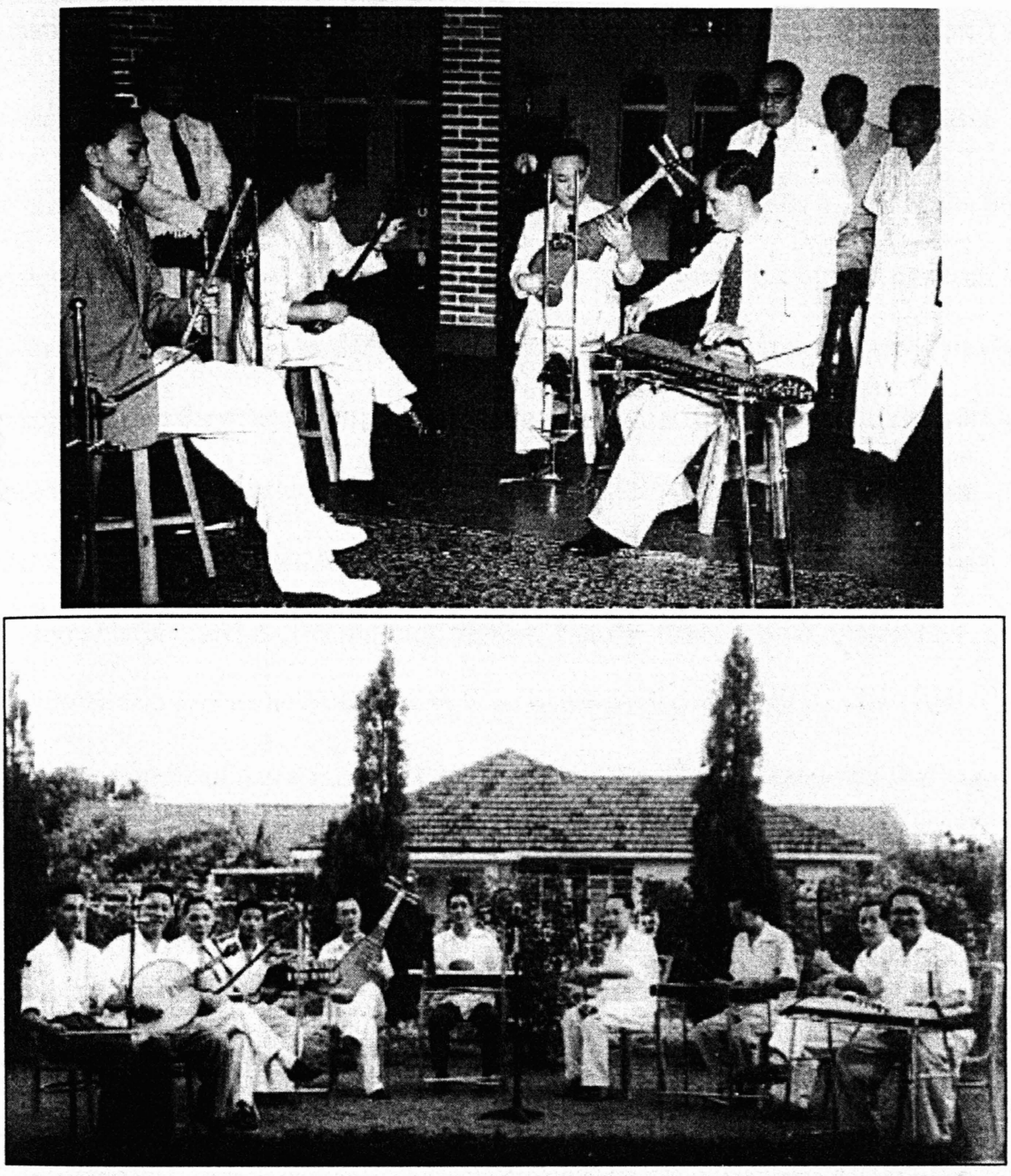

Photo 19. Chinese music groups in Singapore in 1950s[9]

Data for this period are obtained from the following sources: a Chinese book on the development of Chinese music in Singapore from 1953 to 1979 written by Singaporean *pipa* musician Goh Ek Meng (1998), interviews with Goh himself, interviews with a well known zheng teacher and musician Lian Rongshi, and my personal

participation in two Chaozhou music groups *Taorong Ruyueshe* 陶融儒乐社 (Thau Yong) and *Yuyu Ruyueshe* 余娱儒乐社 (Er Woo). Another zheng musician, Au Yong Eang, whose name featured prominently in concert programmes in the 1960s to 1980s, declined to be interviewed because he said he was very afraid of reporters, but agreed to speak briefly over the telephone. The data from the first four of these sources are particularly intriguing, because they seem like a puzzle to be pieced together. Lian gave an overview of zheng from after the war until today, but emphasised that he would not talk about politics. Goh's book collected together a comprehensive list of concerts programmes, music group history, and musicians' biographies. For the 1960s period, Goh stated for many of the music groups he listed that they were disbanded after only a few years, usually in the middle of a series of well attended concerts. He also recorded that many of the famous musicians of the period changed profession or left the country abruptly in the middle of a prominent career. He never gave the reasons. My anonymous informant finally supplied what appears to be an answer to this puzzle.

Post-war Period

Lian Rongshi provided some information on the status of zheng music just after the war, in the 1940s and 1950s. In the late1940s, the zheng music played was of the regional schools, mainly Chaozhou and Kejia. Zheng was usually played in small, informal Chinese music groups in villages. There were occasional musicians in music groups in Chinese clan associations who could teach zheng music. Clans with prominent

[9] From Goh Eng Chan (2000) (under Discography), notes, pp. 24, 25.

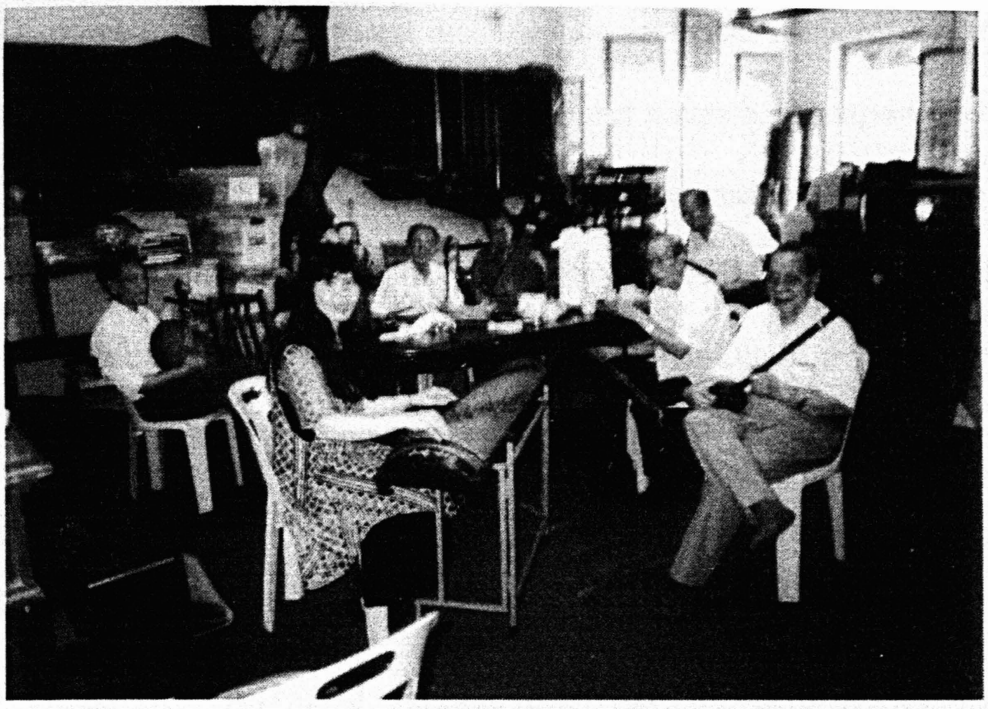

Photo 20. Er Woo Amateur Musical & Dramatic Association[10]

music groups include Er Woo (see photo 20), Thau Yong and *Nanyang Keshu Zonghui* 南洋客属总会 (Nanyang Khek). These groups were formed before the war, respectively in 1912, 1929 and 1931.[11] From interviews with the elderly musicians there, I have learnt that throughout the 1920s,1930s, and 1940s, these clans had taken part actively in raising funds for disaster relief in the Mainland, and frequently invited Mainland artistes and musicians to perform in Singapore. In the late 1940s and 1950s, the steel stringed, sixteen stringed zheng, known as *tong* zheng 铜箏, was used. Artificial fingernails were made from bamboo pieces, and these were tied to the finger using strings made from cow

[10] The author with the elderly music lovers at Er Woo- (from left) Koh Siew Huat 许秀发, meself, Tan Han Chang 陈汉章, Goh Eng Chang 吴膺赞, Ng Liat Chow 黄若俊, Lim Min Kian 林明谦, Tan Kee Han 陈启汉– (Photo taken in 1997).

[11] This information is obtained from the programme notes of a series of concerts entitled Chinese Instrumental Music Festival (*Huayue Jie* 华乐节), held from 16 to 25 April 1982 in the Singapore Conference Hall.

or snake skin. Besides that, some people also used artificial nails made for Western instruments.[12] Notations were in *gongchepu* and cipher notation. Zheng students were expected to memorise these. The concept of a fixed key for each piece of music did not exist, and zheng teachers could use different, arbitrary keys for the same piece of music when teaching at different times. Students tried their best to follow their teachers.

In general, for zheng students who were keen to improve their skills, learning was very difficult because of the lack of good teachers and teaching materials. There were occasional concerts by the famous zheng musician, Chen Leishi 陈蕾士 (Louis Chen) who lived in Malaysia.[13] As a child, Lian had observed Chen's performance once, from a distance. He also had Chen's vinyl recording, and tried to learn the pieces by listening and playing the notes. There were few zheng notations. Some zheng notations were sent by post to Singapore from relatives in villages in southern China, and these were much treasured. According to Lian, information from the Mainland was limited.[14] However, some information was available through newspapers and books. Around 1950, Lian managed to obtain a copy of Cao Zheng's first vinyl recording, described in section 2.6.2. In Lian's words, this recording was "stunning". It recorded Cao's rendition of *Yuzhou Changwan*, and Cao's style was different from any that Lian had heard in Singapore. It did not belong to any of the southern Chinese Chaozhou or Kejia zheng schools, and Lian

[12] These are like those used in the early period in Taiwan. Most of my artificial nails were collected from Taiwan. Western type nails were mostly collected in Singapore. Zheng nails are very important, and zheng musicians always try to look for the best nail material to produce the best sound quality. Even though many people went to the Mainland to learn zheng, many still retain the original nails in Singapore and Taiwan. (see Appendix A)

[13] Malaysian zheng music might have developed even earlier than Singapore. From interviews with a number of zheng musicians in Malaysia, including Chen Leishi (by telephone) and Chan Kwok Hing, it is known that there had been some interaction with zheng musicians in Singapore over the past few decades.

[14] By 1960, however, information on Mainland music was able to reach Singapore quite quickly. Goh (1998:58) described how the large-scale orchestra piece *Donghai Yuge* [Fisherman's Song of the East Sea], published in 1960 on the Mainland, was performed by a full orchestra in 1963 in Singapore.

thought at the time that it might be a kind of northern style. Lian also managed to obtain a copy of Cao's zheng textbook. From section 2.6.2, we know that it was published between 1946 and 1950. Lian could not understand many of the *anyin* techniques described in the text, such as *shang huayin* 上滑音 and *xia huayin* 下滑音. As a result, he had to continue to make use of the vinyl recordings and learn through following the notes in Cao's renditions, making up his own fingering techniques along the way.

Chinese Orchestras

The number of Chinese orchestras increased rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s. Most of these were organized in Chinese schools, with a smaller number in clan associations. Many of the well-known Chinese musicians in Singapore also appeared during this period (Goh 1998:10). A few of them, such as Lian Rongshi and Tay Teow Kiat, are still active today, and have been leaders in the development of Chinese music and zheng music in Singapore for four decades. Two factors contributed to this increase in popularity. One was the increase in the number of Chinese schools over the first half of the twentieth century, which could have led to an increase in the number of Chinese educated leaders in cultural activities. Another was fund raising activities. In 1963, for instance, a large concert series was organized by the Nanyang University Choir and Kang Le 康乐 Chinese orchestra to raise funds for the university. There were forty-one orchestra members, which was very large even by today's standard in Singapore, and newspaper reports gave high praises to the quality of performance (Goh 1998:24)

Towards the end of the first period of zheng music in Singapore, a number of major Chinese orchestras started to be disbanded. Goh (1998:151) recorded the

following:

1962 – Thau Yong 陶融儒乐社民乐队

1965 – Ai Tong, Chong Fu Alumni 爱同,崇福校友会

1966 – Chung Cheng High School 中正民乐队

1969 – Kang Le 康乐音乐研究会

1974 – National Theatre 国家剧场艺术团

The circumstances of the termination of these orchestras were probably known by older zheng musicians today, but all of them avoided talking about this. For instance, Goh (1998:28) mentioned that in 1966 the Chung Cheng High School Chinese orchestra, had already sold out all the concert tickets, but the concert was suddenly cancelled, tickets refunded, and the orchestra disbanded for "external" reasons. From 1967, many Chinese musicians subsequently changed profession, left the country, or turned to performing in restaurants for a fee. In Goh's words, they have "faded out".

The reason for this abrupt and curious turn of events only became clearer when I met an informant in Singapore who was a well-known zheng musician at the time. As this musician had preferred to remain anonymous, I shall only refer to him as "my informant". From hindsight, during my interviews with other zheng musicians, they did leave behind a few clues. There were mentions of not wanting to talk about politics, and the word "left-wing" came up a few times, but I failed to make the connection. I could not have made the connection anyway, not being a native of Singapore, and not yet having read such detailed accounts about the communist struggle in Singapore as that

written by Lee Ting Hui (1996). According to my informant, many Chinese orchestras at the time were disbanded by the government because of connections with the communists. He highlighted an incident involving mass arrests of more than a hundred students in 1964 at Nanyang University, among them some prominent leaders of Chinese music.[15] According to my informant, such incidents resulted in the disillusionment of Chinese musicians, many of whom subsequently changed profession or turned to performing in restaurants.

As only one zheng musician among the many I had interviewed gave the above information, it is not possible to conclude with certainty that zheng music development in Singapore, or the disbanded Chinese orchestras listed above, had links with communism.[16] What is clear from the fact that the zheng musicians remain sensitive to political issues of the early period even after thirty years, and from the disbanding of the large number of Chinese orchestras, is that unwillingness of being linked with the communists might in itself have been a sufficiently strong factor to deter many established musicians from participating in Chinese music activities.

4.4 Nation Building: From 1965

The Postcolonial Nation

After independence, apart from dealing with problems such as the economy and defence, the new government turned its attention to the creation of a new national culture.

[15] Lee Ting Hui (1996:308) mentions that in June 1964, fifty-six students from the Nanyang University were detained because of resistance to an agreement to terminate all political and subversive activities on campus in exchange of government recognition of Chinese university degree.

[16] That zheng music itself has links to communism is of course a well-established fact. As explained in chapter 2, the modern zheng tradition came about largely under the influence of the communist ideology in the Mainland.

Several aspects of government efforts and social-economic factors were relevant to the development of zheng music. Nationalism and globalisation might be expected to weaken the sense of Chinese ethnic identity, the former potentially to suppress links with the Mainland, and the latter to increase the rate of Westernisation. On the other hand, the ethnic link with the Mainland seemed to be able to transcend national boundary. It contributed to the sense of ethnic identity and limited the impact of globalisation to a significant extent. Nationalism factors included the creation of a national myth and the homogenisation of selected areas of ethnic cultures. Ethnic factors were facilitated by government promotion of key aspects of Chinese culture, widespread usage of television and electronic media, Singapore's friendly foreign policy towards the Mainland and transmission of culture within the Chinese society.[17] Globalisation factors include Singapore's dependence on world economy, the shift to English as a medium of instruction in schools, and the influx of foreign talents in 1990s. (Curiously, the influx of foreign talents might in fact strengthen the ethnic identity, because a large number of the talents came from the Mainland.) Zheng music appears to be linked to ethnicity in a fundamental way, and came under the influence of nationalism and globalisation in the same way that ethnicity was affected. In this section, a few examples of these factors are highlighted.

Cui Guiqiang (1994:297) gives a comprehensive overview of what the new government would like the national culture to be after independence. The desirable qualities are encompassed by a "pledge" that students have to say in unison at flag raising ceremonies every morning in all schools in Singapore:

[17] These facilitated the link with the Mainland, though the link itself might not be the direct objective of government policy.

We the citizens of Singapore,

pledge ourselves as one united people,

regardless of race, language and religion,

to build a democratic society based on justice and equality

so as to achieve happiness, prosperity and progress for our nation.

Mutual tolerances among races and loyalty to the nation have to be emphasised. The government is aware of the danger of racial conflict, which many Singaporeans had witnessed not long before in 1950, 1964 and 1969, when riots between Chinese and Malays resulted in many killed and injured (Ackermann 1997:40). Racial considerations appear to govern the implementation of many policies, including the distribution of races in state funded apartments (known as HDB flats), where more then 80 percent of the population live (Layton and Pang 2001:53). In creating the national myth, all primary school children learnt that Raffles is the founder of Singapore, Malay is the national language, the historic name of Singapore is Temasek, and the name of Singapore is derived from the Malay words "singa" which means lion and "pura", which means city. In fact, Malay is spoken by only about fourteen percent of the population. These choices were made to create an integrated population. In this way, nationalism and ethnicity seemed to coexist peacefully in Singapore. Although school children might have learnt these ideas passively, they do not seem to have much impact on homogenising the cultures of the races in Singapore. However, the selective homogenisation efforts of the government since the 1980s do have obvious results on Chinese culture in Singapore.

"Speak Mandarin" Campaign

Instead of attempting to homogenise the cultures of all races in Singapore, cultural activities of individual races are generally encouraged and sponsored by the government. This could be an acknowledgement of the powerful sentiments inherent in ethnicity. Ackermann (1997:45) describes the nation building policy of Singapore as a "deliberate attempt to dissolve the ethnic, religious and linguistic heterogeneity of the island's population into clear-cut, manageable categories". This appears to be the case in "Speak Mandarin" campaign initiated by the government to create a Singaporean Chinese identity. Instead of trying to homogenise all the cultures, the government seems to be trying to homogenise the culture within each race, so that each becomes more "manageable". For instance, in the "Speak Mandarin" campaign initiated in 1979 (Wong *et al* 2000:3), the government encouraged all Chinese in Singapore to speak Mandarin, a northern Chinese dialect. Singaporean Chinese was largely a mixture of mutually unintelligible southern Chinese dialect groups, and few spoke Mandarin as their vernacular. In order to implement this policy, Mandarin Chinese was taught in all schools and, within three years, all southern Chinese dialect programmes on radio and television were removed and/ or dubbed in Mandarin. The sociological consequence was profound. Language is an important ethnic marker. Requiring Singaporean Chinese to speak Mandarin effectively erased a significant portion of the ethnic identities of the dialect groups, and replaced these by a new one. Initial reactions were mixed, and some valuable dialect artistes and dialect literature were lost as a result (Wong *et al* 2000:80, 89). After more than twenty years, the result could be said to have met the objective. The percentage of children who spoke southern Chinese dialect at home had fallen

drastically, from sixty-four percent in 1980 to two and a half percent in 1999 (Wong *et al* 2000:177). Many of the younger generation of Singaporean Chinese today can speak or understand Mandarin. At the same time, however, many Chinese have also been converted to speaking English. Some Chinese I met in Singapore spoke fluent English but had difficulty writing their names in Chinese. In the case of English, however, there is clear economic advantage, for being able to speak English means being able to get better jobs. In fact, it is the government's position that one of the reasons for the "Speak Mandarin" campaign is to counter the increasing use of English at work and even at home so as to preserve the Chinese sense of ethnic identity. In the case of zheng music, this might even have contributed to improving the links with the Mainland, where *putonghua* 普通话 (Mandarin) is the official language and is spoken by many of the zheng masters there. It is interesting to note that zheng music declined in the period from 1965 to 1980, and the start of the revival in 1980 occurred soon after the start of the "Speak Mandarin" campaign.[18] The percentage of children who spoke English at home had increased steadily over the past twenty years, and reached forty percent in 1999, whereas the percentage who spoke Mandarin was fifty-four percent (Wong *et al* 2000:177). Judging from the trends, English should overtake Mandarin in a few years. The impact this may have on zheng music remains to be seen.

Westernisation

After independence, in order to solve the economic problem, many foreign multi national corporations were invited to set up factories in Singapore. As Singapore moved

[18] The shift to English schools has far reaching consequences on the standard of Chinese language in

into the manufacturing and service industry, it continued to rely heavily on the global economy, just as it did when it was a British colony. At the same time the number of English schools increased rapidly, and more and more parents sent their children to English schools. As noted earlier, this resulted in a new generation of Singapore Chinese who could speak English. It is difficult to determine the extent to which the Chinese sense of ethnic identity was changed by this shift, though zheng teachers from the Mainland do experience difficulty explaining zheng musical expression to students in Singapore. The trend appeared to reverse when, in 1990s, the government decided that Singapore should attract foreign talents to boost its economy.[19] The most desirable talents were businessmen and engineers. However, the government also discovered, through a study of advanced countries, that these countries also have high standards of cultural activities. So at the same time as attracting businessmen and engineers to Singapore, the government also welcomes artists, sportsmen, and musicians. This led to a rapid increase in the number of zheng musicians from the Mainland coming to teach and perform in Singapore.

4.5 Development of Zheng Music

4.5.1 The Second Period: 1965 – 1980

The second period was a period of decline for zheng music. According to Lian Rongshi, he almost thought he had to close his zheng classes in the 1970s. Goh (1998:36)

Singapore. I have compared the Chinese textbooks in the higher secondary schools in Singapore, and found that the level is close to the elementary school textbooks in Taiwan.

[19] "English text of Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong's National Day 2001 Rally Speech in Mandarin" Internet http://sg.channelnewsasia.com/ndp2001/rally_cl.html. Accessed on 5 Feb 2002.

mentioned that the second half of 1960s was a period of decline for Chinese music in general. However, a few aspects of related development during this period were to have an influence on zheng music in later years. These included: the setting up of large number of Chinese orchestras in schools and community centres,[20] government sponsorship of large number of concerts and cultural activities, performance of Chinese pieces that were largely obtained from the Mainland, and the Cultural Revolution on the Mainland. The setting up of Chinese orchestras, in which the zheng was sometimes used, provided jobs for Chinese musicians and maintained the continuity of Chinese music, including zheng music. Chinese music eventually emerged from the period of decline, and sponsorship continued into the 1990s, when the renaming of People's Association Chinese Orchestra to Singapore Chinese Orchestra in 1992 elevated it to national status. The widespread performance of Mainland music was evidence of the ready availability of Mainland materials,[21] and the absence of any restriction in Singapore to perform these, unlike in Taiwan prior to 1987. The Cultural Revolution suppressed the flow of goods and information to Singapore from 1966 to 1976. This had a significant impact on zheng music because the twenty-one stringed zheng music was developed largely in the 1960s and 1970s on the Mainland.[22] The Cultural Revolution resulted in a delay of more than ten years before the twenty-one stringed zheng music proper was transmitted to Singapore. Thus, whereas the ban in Taiwan on travel to the Mainland was self-imposed and lasted for about four decades, that in Singapore was due to the political upheaval on the Mainland and lasted for only a decade.

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[20] Some reasons are suggested later in the section under Regrouping of Orchestras.
[21] Most of these materials were likely to have reached Singapore before the start of the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

The sources of data for this period include Goh's book (1998), interviews with Lian in 1997, the Country Area Study on Singapore (Lepoer 1989) sponsored by the U.S. State Department, notations published on the Mainland and purchased in Singapore and Hong Kong, and programme notes of concerts in Singapore during the 1965-1980 period. Goh's book, which was featured in the Chinese newspaper *Lianhe Zaobao* 联合早报 in Singapore in 1997, could be purchased in Chinese music shops in Singapore, and contains detailed account of Chinese orchestras set up and concerts performed during this period, as well as titles of pieces performed. The complete U.S. Country Area Study of Singapore is posted on the Library of Congress Internet web site, and is also available for loan from the public library (National Library) in Singapore. This contains a clear account of the ethnic policy of the Singapore government in relation to its schools and community centres,[23] and also provides references for further reading. From my ten years experience of living in Singapore, many of the details were accurate and insightful. Mainland Chinese music and zheng music notations often contain pieces that were composed around the Cultural Revolution period, and allow useful comparison with pieces that were performed in Singapore at the time. Titles and explanations of these pieces could be obtained from Goh's book, as well as from concert programmes of the period, which are collected in libraries in Singapore.

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[22] In fact, the first twenty-one stringed zheng, as explained in chapter 2, was invented in 1957 by Zhao Yuhzai. However, this zheng had a straight bridge on the left-hand end. The twenty-one stringed zheng that is widely used today has an S-shaped bridge, and was invented near the end of the 1960s.

[23] Community centres in Singapore are places where nearby residents could gather for communal activities, such as lessons in dancing, singing, language, computers, etc., and are set up in many place on the island by the government.

Regrouping of Orchestras

As explained in the previous section, a large number of Chinese orchestras were disbanded towards the end of the first period. This continued into the early part of the second period. A significant development during this period was the setting up of a large number of new orchestras. These were mostly set up in schools, community centres, and government related organisations. It could be due in part to the government policy to encourage expression of each ethnic group. It may also be understood in the context of government effort to homogenise Chinese culture in Singapore. As these orchestras were government related, it also had the desirable effect of deterring communist infiltration, if any. For the period from 1965 to 1979, Goh (1998:152) recorded the setting up of at least twenty-five new orchestras. Of these, twenty-one were set up in government related organisations, one by clan association, and the remaining four by independent Chinese musicians. Of the government related organisations, six were schools, five were community centres, and the remaining ten included Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Education, National Theatre, radio broadcasting station, Police and Army.[24] An interesting feature was that the setting up of these new orchestras was often a regrouping of the same musicians from disbanded orchestras. Goh's book listed the names of prominent Chinese musicians in both the old and new orchestras, and many of them were the same. Moreover, the names of the same few musicians, such Goh himself, Lian Rongshi and Tay Teow Kiat, often appeared in the list of conductors, instructors or performers in Chinese orchestras of the various organisations. Of particular significance

[24] One important group, set up in 1974, was the People's Association Chinese Orchestra. In later years, many Chinese musicians would refer to this orchestra as Singapore's authority on Chinese music. It was the first, and only, professional orchestra, and had attracted arguably many of the best Chinese musicians in Singapore.

to the development of zheng music was the increasing trend towards setting up of Chinese orchestras in schools and community centres. When I carried out my fieldwork in Singapore in 1997, my general impression from interviews with zheng musicians was that most of the zheng classes and performances were organized by schools (see photo 21) and community centres. These were two institutions where nationalism, ethnicity and zheng music met.

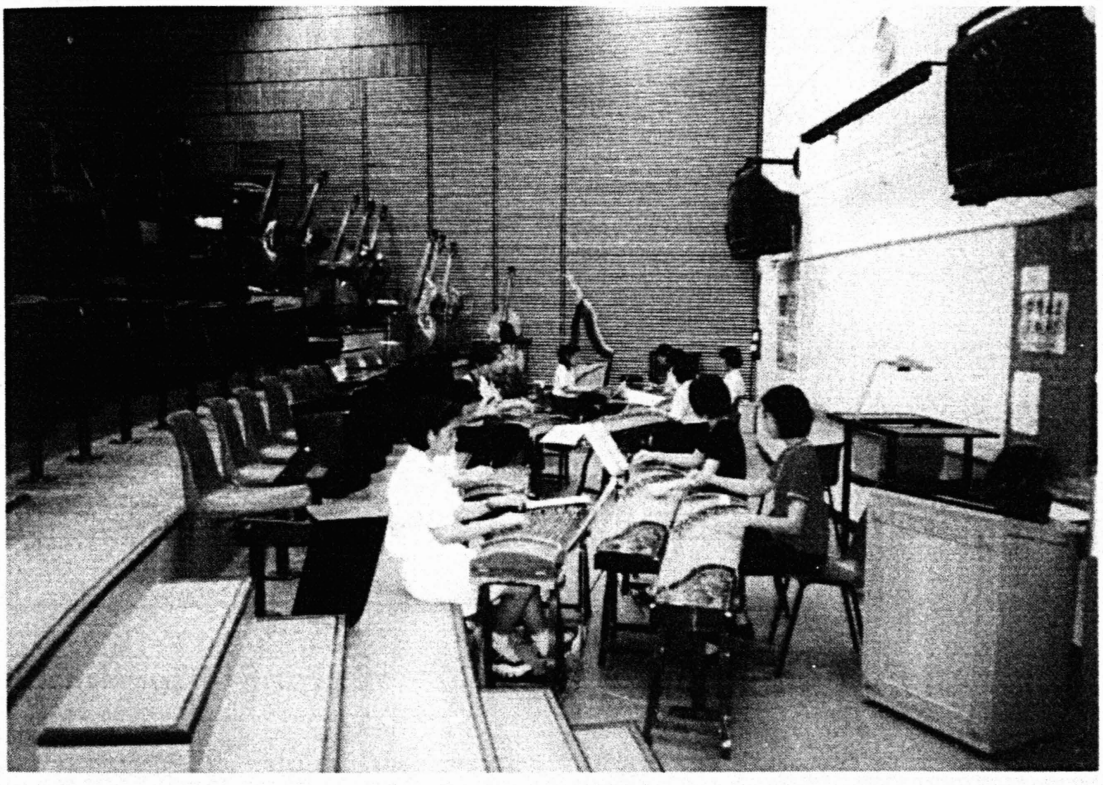

Photo 21. A zheng practice session in Dunman High School in Singapore. (Photo taken in 1997 by the author)

Schools and Community Centres

In Singapore, schools and community centres were two of the institutions where multiracial policies of the government were most clearly articulated, and where many cultural activities were carried out as extra curricular activities. From the age of six,

students studied and played in the same classes with Chinese, Malays and Indians. English was the medium of instruction for all subjects, except the language subject for each race. For instance, Chinese students would be instructed in Mandarin in only one of the five to ten subjects. They might speak Mandarin, dialects or English among themselves, or English with students of other races. Until the year 2000, the curriculum in Singapore followed the British system, and all students were prepared for the same Cambridge GCE 'O' and 'A' Level examination papers taken by students in Britain and Commonwealth nations, at the age of sixteen and eighteen respectively.[25] Students typically kept five and a half day weeks, with up to eight hours per day in school. Extra curricular activities (ECA) would take place about two afternoons per week. Students had a wide range of sports, cultural and other activities to select from, and Chinese music and zheng music might be among these, depending on the schools. According to the programme notes of a 1982 People's Association Chinese Orchestra concert, there were about eighty schools with Chinese orchestras at the time, of which fifty were in English schools, and the remaining thirty presumably in Chinese schools. From my fieldwork, I learnt that many of the instructors of Chinese music and zheng music groups in schools were also members of People's Association Chinese Orchestra.

The People's Association was established in 1960, and administers more than a hundred community centres around the island, engaging mainly in cultural activities of the various ethnic groups. The importance attached to its activities by the government is evident from the fact that until 1985, it was part of the Prime Minister's Office. After 1985, a "new ministry [of culture] coordinated a network of grassroots agencies intended to promote community spirit and social cohesion" (Lepoer 1989: Parapolitical

[25] From year 2001, schools shifted towards the U.S. system, and started preparing students for the SAT.

Institutions), and the People's Association was one of these agencies. The community centres provided an option for communal activities which had been lacking since the new housing policy, administered by a Housing and Development Board (HDB), broke up ethnic enclaves by requiring specific distribution of races within each block of residential flats built by the board. Today, typical activities in community centres include kindergarten, English courses, cooking lessons, Indian dances, Chinese martial arts, computer lessons and sometimes zheng music. The People's Association Chinese Orchestra had strong government sponsorship,[26] and had resources to administer Chinese music and zheng music groups in a large number of community centres and schools.

Twenty-one Stringed Zheng Music

After independence, the government maintained friendly trading relations with the Mainland, although formal diplomatic ties were not possible until 1989 because of the sentiments of Indonesia, a Muslim country, which were concerned about Mainland intentions in Southeast Asia (Lepoer 1989: China). Communications, trading and travel between Singapore and the Mainland had been possible most of the time except for the Cultural Revolution period from 1966 to 1976. Unfortunately for zheng musicians in Singapore, the 1960s and 1970s was also the period of active development of the twenty-one stringed zheng music, when the latest version of the twenty-one stringed zheng was invented, and when composition of twenty-one stringed zheng music was most prolific. Many of the zheng pieces that are commonly played today were composed during that period, such as *Zhan Taifeng* composed in 1965, *Fengshou Luogu* composed in 1972 and

[26] In 1992, when it was renamed the Singapore Chinese Orchestra, the Deputy Prime Minister was the sponsor.

Dongting Xin'ge 洞庭新歌 [The New Song of Dongting] composed in 1973 (*Zhengqu Xuan* 1982:40,47,63). In spite of this, it was possible for the modern zheng music to develop in Singapore a few years earlier than in Taiwan because there had been no ban on the performance of Mainland music or the use of Mainland manufactured musical instruments in Singapore. As explained in section 3.4.2, modern zheng music was first introduced to Taiwan around 1979 by Chan Kwok Hing from Malaysia.

From the limited information from recordings and the small number of twenty-one-string zheng available, zheng musicians in Singapore tried to learn the notes and devise their own fingering techniques. Like in Taiwan, they were faced with the problem of speed, and could not understand how the Mainland zheng musicians could play so fast. According to Lian, he had seen some silk string, twenty-one-string zheng with a straight bridge in the early 1970s, and it was only in the late 1970s that nylon string, twenty-one-string zheng with S shaped bridge appeared in Singapore (see photo 2(j)). This could be due to resumption of trade after 1976. In the 1970s, zheng musicians had to learn what they could about the modern zheng music from recordings. Lian himself preferred to use real nails initially, but soon found that artificial nails, made from turtle shell, were more suitable for the higher speed required. It should be noted that despite the lack of information on the modern zheng, and lack of proper fingering techniques, zheng musicians in Singapore and Taiwan were able to make the modern zheng music popular in both countries well before direct contact with the Mainland was possible.

4.5.2 The Third Period: 1980 – 1990

Re-establishing Contact

The third period was a period of growth for the modern zheng music in Singapore. From 1980, zheng musicians began travelling to the Mainland to learn the modern zheng as well as to build relations with Mainland zheng musicians. Relevant development of this period include visits to Singapore by Mainland zheng musicians, lifting of the ban on travelling to the Mainland in 1980, travels of Singaporean zheng musicians to the Mainland, and parallel development of zheng music on the Mainland during this period. Sources of data for this period are largely from my fieldwork in Singapore conducted in 1997, together with Goh's book and programme notes of concerts held during that period.

Some of my interviewees emphasised the significance of a particular concert performance by the visiting Mainland *Dongfang Gewutuan* 东方歌舞团 [Oriental Music Troupe] in March 1979. The modern zheng piece, *Zhan Taifeng,* was performed in the concert by a well known zheng master, Zhang Yan (see photo 8). According to my interviewees, this was when they saw Mainland fingering techniques of the modern zheng for the first time. Previously, they had listened to recordings of the modern zheng pieces, but were not able to understand why it could be played so fast. It was the same problem that Taiwanese zheng musicians faced in the 1980s. From my observations during my fieldwork, fingering techniques in Singapore before 1980 were similar to those used in Taiwan in the early periods. Even today, some of the zheng musicians still use a mixture of old and new techniques and fingernails (see Appendix A). According to Goh (1998:143), Au Yong Eang[27] learnt a lot from Zhang Yan and this was very helpful to his subsequent zheng career in Singapore.

Musical Meaning

The eager reception of Mainland music may be viewed in the context of the PAP government policy on freedom of expression. Whereas communism was illegal and the use of southern Chinese dialects was banned in radio and television and discouraged among the public, there was otherwise no restriction on the performance of Mainland music or most forms of Mainland related cultural activities. Programme notes of concerts that were performed in the 1980s, for instance, carried explanations of pieces performed that were almost lifted from communist propaganda in the Mainland but minus the name of Chairman Mao. In the NTUC[28] Chinese Orchestra Night held in 1989 for instance, the programme note carried the following explanation in Chinese, for the *erhu* piece *Songliang* 送粮 [On the Way to the Granary]: "Using the humble language of music, the picture of peasants in huge trucks heavily loaded with grains and happily driving to the granary after a good harvest is described. It reflected the joy of the long suffering, hardworking peasants at having a happy new life after a good harvest." The scenery in the description must have been commonplace on the Mainland, but was rather out of place in Singapore, being a highly built-up country. Singapore was initially an entrepot and more recently a service and manufacturing centre, with little farm land to harvest and no granary. The description was typical of Mainland music. Lee Ting Hui (1996:6) explained the importance of peasants in the Mainland: "... Mao Tse-tung's method was to take the countryside first, and then the towns and cities. Mao's capture of power was mainly an effort on the part of peasants who populated the countryside." In the Chinese

[27] Au Yong Eang, who won top prize in a 1969 music competition organized by the television broadcasting station, was arguably the most famous zheng musician in Singapore.

Music Festival in 1982, the programme notes for *Dadu He* [River Dadu] depicted heroes with their fearless spirit braving their way across the steep banks and rapid water of the River Dadu in Sichuan 四川 province. River Dadu was the site of a famous battle between the Communist and Nationalist armies on the Mainland during the Long March. The "heroes" were of course the communists, who won this battle. It may be argued that the PAP leaders, being English educated, did not understand the implications of these words.[29] However, this was unlikely as they had been through a long struggle against the communists not long before. It should be obvious that descriptions of peasants and heroes in programme notes were praises for the Communist government, even though the word "communist" was judiciously omitted. Whereas the use of such programme notes in Taiwan before 1987 would have been unthinkable, in Singapore the PAP government was tolerant. This was particularly obvious from the fact that many of the programme notes were graced by a note of encouragement from a minister or a Member of Parliament.

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[28] NTUC stands for National Trade Union Congress. In contrast to other countries like England, the trade union in Singapore is organized by the government, not the people. Its Chinese orchestra is therefore government sponsored.

[29] However, the average Chinese Singaporean in the 1980s might not actually know that such meanings were related to Mainland communists. My husband, a Chinese Singaporean, started a Chinese music group in Cambridge University in 1989 (Koegel 1991). Although he was familiar with these programme notes, he was surprised when Mainland audience in Cambridge commented on some the pieces that his group performed. They said that they used to sing them with lyrics in praise of Chairman Mao every morning in schools on the Mainland during the Cultural Revolution. My husband was very surprised. He might have learnt about the Cultural Revolution from books, but he was not able connect this with the music. Whereas some of the older Singaporeans I have interviewed may think about the Mainland as their own country, the younger generation who grew up after independence tend to think of the Mainland as a foreign country, albeit their country of origin.

Travel to China

During the Cultural Revolution, the Mainland was closed to travel. The Singapore government also banned Singaporeans from travelling to the Mainland. Although the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976 and some trading relations resumed, this ban on the general public was only lifted around 1980. Immediately after the ban was lifted, zheng musicians from Singapore started travelling to the Mainland to learn zheng music. In the beginning, it had to be in the name of visiting relatives. For instance, when Lian applied to the authorities for approval to travel to the Mainland, he had to indicate that he was going to visit his relative on his application form. After travelling to the Mainland, he managed to make contact with He Baoquan, a famous zheng musician in Shanghai Music Conservatory, and spent some time learning the modern zheng music from him. Lian said he found the new fingering techniques of the modern zheng very difficult, and was initially unsure if he could learn them, though he eventually managed to. Nevertheless, He Baoquan advised that he should build up his foundation by learning traditional zheng pieces of the regional zheng schools first, as these were the "real" zheng pieces. The relationship Lian built was important. In 1986, he arranged for He Baoquan to come to Singapore to perform at a concert. He also collaborated with Liang Tsaip'ing and He Baoquan in 1987 (see photo22) and 1991. In later years, he arranged for He Baoquan's daughter, He Xiaotong, to come to stay and teach zheng in Singapore at his music centre. Lian also made contact with zheng makers on the Mainland and imported good quality twenty-one string zhengs to Singapore. Lian's trips to the Mainland were obviously fruitful, and had significant impact not only on his own business, but also on the development of the modern zheng music in Singapore.

Photo 22. Lian Rongshi playing the zheng in Japan.[30]

Another zheng musician I interviewed who also travelled to the Mainland to learn zheng music was Tan Chin Huat. Whereas Lian had already been performing and teaching zheng music for nearly twenty years before he went to the Mainland, Tan only first came into contact with zheng music in 1982. He initially learnt from Qi Zhaoming.[31] After graduating from school, he worked in a Chinese music shop. There, he often met zheng musicians, and had heard much about their travels to the Mainland. He tried asking them what they had learnt on the Mainland, but always received the disappointing answer that they only learnt some basic zheng techniques. In 1986, he finally decided that he wanted to go to the Mainland to learn zheng music. Initially, he asked someone to recommend him to He Baoquan, but He declined to accept him as student. Then Tay Teow Kiat, the Chinese music conductor of Dunman High School,

[30] Liang Tsaip'ing seated behind. He Baoquan standing. (Photo provided by Lian and taken in 1987).
[31] Qi is a musician of zheng, *pipa* and *Yueju* 粤剧 (Cantonese opera) who had taught many students in Singapore (see photo 32).

recommended him to another zheng teacher Li Yi 李毅 in Shanghai, and Tan was eventually accepted

Tan showed me a recommendation letter written for him by Guo Ying. Such recommendations were treasured. They were signs of good esteem by famous musicians, as well as good relation with them. Towards the end of his stay, when he used up all his money, Li Xueqin 李雪芹 helped him out and gave him a zheng as a gift. Li's advice to Tan before he left for Singapore was to concentrate on teaching zheng music to children. Since returning to Singapore, Tan has been teaching zheng classes for children in many schools and community centres.

From my observation of their performances, although both Tan and Lian had learnt fingering techniques of the twenty-one stringed zheng, they still tended to use a mixture of the old and the new techniques. The old techniques were essentially similar to those of Liang Tsaip'ing. Through Lian and Tan, the influence of Mainland musicians on zheng music in Singapore can be clearly observed.

4.5.3 The Recent Period: After 1990

Development in Singapore in the 1990s shows the impact of globalisation on zheng music. As a result of economic requirements and the shift in sentiment of Indonesia, the Singapore government began attracting talents from the Mainland and other countries in the world to live and work in Singapore. A large number of Chinese musicians including zheng musicians, came to Singapore during this period. The amount of Chinese music and zheng music activities in Singapore increased significantly, particularly in schools. Zheng students came face to face with Mainland zheng teachers,

and were able to learn Mainland techniques at first hand. Zheng music shows three modes of transmission, one in government related organisations, one with government sponsorship, and one in private organisations. The main sources of data for this section include interviews with Mainland zheng musicians in Singapore in 1997, programme notes of Chinese music concert in 1990s, news reports about Singapore on the Internet, and my own zheng teaching experience in Singapore from 1993 to 1996.

Music in Singapore

Lee Tong Soon (2001) gave a summary of ethnic music of various races in Singapore. In fact, there has been an increasing trend towards Westernisation in music in the Chinese society. This influence was also evident in the recordings on zheng music in the 1990s. Living in Singapore since 1992 gave a clear impression of the trend. Friends in Singapore listened to Western pop songs and classical music. Many also listened to Mandarin pop songs from Taiwan and Hong Kong, sung to largely Western music accompaniment. The same trend was reflected in television and radio programmes. Chinese music and zheng music were increasing in popularity, but were still the interest of a relatively small part of the population, and one had to make a special effort to find these. Even if one is content to listen to recordings of Chinese music, it might still not always be possible to buy these from music recordings shops, which sold mainly Western and pop music. Chinese musical instrument shops would carry a more comprehensive collection of Chinese music compact discs, mainly released by Mainland musicians. I have found a number of compact discs by Singaporean zheng musicians. There were usually a few Chinese concerts each year, but it would be easy to miss these in the

newspaper. Chinese musical instrument shops would often carry advertisements of forthcoming concerts, so these were good places to inquire.[32] Although Chinese orchestras in schools hold regular concerts, these were seldom publicised.

A number of Singaporean publications reflected the generally Westernised conception about music in Singapore. A 1971 "Report on Development of Music in the University of Singapore"[33] gave a comprehensive survey and recommendation on the need to have a music faculty in the university. This report seemed to assume that music meant Western music, and highlighted instruments like cello, oboe and French horn (p. 6 of the report) as the obvious musical instruments in Singapore. Chinese music was not mentioned, but was presumably considered to be part of "non-Western music", which was in turn classified under "ethnomusicology". Chinese music was therefore apparently only of academic interest in the minds of the elite scholars in Singapore. A music faculty was never set up.[34] In a study of "General Music Education in the Primary Schools in Singapore from 1959 to 1990", Chong (1991:iii) carried out a survey of school music teachers and found that their teaching was mainly singing oriented and largely based on Western music, despite Ministry of Education requirement to teach music of the four main languages (Chinese, Malay, Tamil and English). There were problems of resources, such as limited music training for teachers and limited time allocated to music in school.

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[32] In recent years, a company called SISTIC appeared which sells tickets for most cultural events in Singapore. Its website, www.sistic.com.sg, gives a list of cultural events for the coming six months. Many of the events are Western music concerts, but there is usually about one Chinese music concert every month. Most are organized by the Singapore Chinese Orchestra, which also has a website, www.sco.com.sg. I have accessed both websites occasionally in 2002, and both provide timely information

[33] This was a report available in the National University of Singapore library. It was a study requested by the Vice Chancellor, Toh Chin Chye, at the time. It did not appear to have been published. No publisher was given.

[34] However, there was a Chinese orchestra organized by students in the university which had been quite active since 1970s (Goh 1998:82). In the year 2003, the building of a Conservatory of Music on the university campus was finally underway.

In "Study of Student and Teacher Attitudes Toward Music Education in Singapore Secondary Schools", Wong Emelia Eng Cheng (1999:3) observed that "entrepreneurial music centres and private music teachers have increased in business in recent years" as more parents sent their children to these music classes to prepare them for the British music examinations of Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) and Trinity College of Music, London which were administered in Singapore.

Foreign Talents

In recent years, it is possible that this trend towards Westernisation may be balanced by a large influx of foreign talents from the Mainland in 1990s. Before the 1990s, Indonesia was wary of the Mainland's intentions in Southeast Asia. To maintain good relation with Indonesia, the Singapore government avoided any formal diplomatic ties with the Mainland, though trading relations had always been cordial.[35] When Indonesia started diplomatic relations with the Mainland in February 1989, Singapore was able to follow. Throughout the 1990s, it had been the government policy to recruit more foreign talent to Singapore to improve the competitiveness of the economy. Singapore's trade ministry estimated that a significant proportion of Singapore's economic growth in the 1990s was due to foreign workers.[36] According to Singapore's

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[35] According the website hosted by the China embassy in Singapore: " In 1985, Chinese enterprises began to carry out engineering projects and labor service cooperation in Singapore. Since diplomatic relations were established in 1990, the business of Chinese enterprises in economic cooperation has expanded in Singapore. By the end of 2000, the contractual amount is US$1.33 billion with 2058 contracts. The projects ranged from construction, power chemicals, engineering, vessel repair, harbor and wharf construction to ancient building restoration. The high quality of the completed projects won the Chinese enterprises great praise. To make up for the labor shortage in industries of Singapore, Chinese enterprises started to dispatch technicians and workers to Singapore in 1990, which numbered more than 100,000 person-times in total." Internet http://www.chinaembassy.org.sg/eng/9671.html . Accessed on 30 Jan 2002.

[36] Migration News, Vol. 8, No. 12, Dec 2001. Internet http://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/Archive_MN/dec_2001-16mn.html Accessed on 30 Jan 2002.

Chief Economist (Tan *et al* 2001), "the need for Singapore to attract these foreign talents will be a matter of 'life and death' for the nation".[37] The economic policy to attract foreign talents was also extended to the cultural area. A report by the Ministry of Information and The Arts did a survey on cities of advanced nations, such as New York and London, and found that these cities, which had large pools of professional talents, also had a "non-stop buzz" of cultural activities.[38] It therefore concluded that in order to attract more foreign talents: "We should aim to achieve a level of cultural vibrancy that would be comparable to the cities of Hong Kong, Glasgow and Melbourne in five years. Our longer term objective would be to join New York and London in the top rung of cultural cities." As a result, earlier restrictions on immigration of Mainland Chinese to Singapore were relaxed, and many zheng musicians came to live and work in Singapore in the 1990s.

The influx of Mainland musicians in the 1990s is evident from a comparison of concert programme notes in the 1980s and 1990s. The programme notes often gave a brief biography on the performers. Although 1980s concerts performed largely Mainland pieces, the performers introduced in the programme notes were usually Singaporean Chinese. In the 1990s concerts, however, many of the musicians introduced in the programme notes were from the Mainland. In a 1997 concert by the Ngee Ann Secondary School Chinese orchestra, of the instructors introduced, six were from the Mainland and three from Singapore. Of the Mainland instructors, one from *Zhongguo Yinyue Xueyuan* 中国音乐学院 [China Music Conservatory] taught *suona* and *guanzi*,

[37] Quotation from National Day rally speech by the Prime Minister of Singapore.
[38] Chapter 3: Benchmarking Cities. Renaissance City Report. Ministry of Information and The Arts. Singapore. 2001. Internet http://www.mita.gov.sg/renaissance/C3.htm . Accessed on 30 Jan 2002.

one from *Zhongyang Yinyue Xueyuan* 中央音乐学院 [Central Music Conservatory] taught *erhu*, one from *Shanghai Yinyue Xueyuan* 上海音乐学院 [Shanghai Music Conservatory] taught *pipa*, one from *Guangxi Yishu Xueyuan* 广西艺术学院 [Guangxi Arts Academy] taught *yangqin*, and one from *Tianjin Yinyue Xueyuan* 天津音乐学院 [Tianjin Music Conservatory] taught zheng. Interviews with Mainland zheng musicians in 1997 also revealed that they travelled regularly teach zheng in many schools in Singapore.

Mainland Musicians

Most of the Mainland zheng musicians had initially come to Singapore as wives of husbands who came to work in Singapore, or were invited to record zheng music by recording companies in Singapore, or were recruited directly by Chinese orchestras in Singapore. Among them, those whom I interviewed include Zhang Lufen, Xiong Yue, Yin Qun and He Xiaotong. Most of them were between twenty to forty years old, and grew up during the Cultural Revolution period. Their biographies, therefore, provide useful insight into the distinctive cultural context in which they now interact with zheng students in Singapore. Zhang Lufen accompanied her husband, who was invited to work and perform in the Singapore Symphony Orchestra. Xiong was a zheng performer in the Singapore Chinese Orchestra. Yin, from Xi'an Music Conservatory and a student of Zhou Yanjia,[39] taught zheng music at Dunman High School. As mentioned before, He

[39] Zhou was well-known among zheng musicians for inventing the *Qin zheng pai* 秦箏派 [Xi'an zheng school] by claiming that zheng originated from Xi'an and that therefore there should have been such a school.

Xiatong was the daughter of He Baoquan and taught zheng music at Chong Yee Music Centre, owned by Lian Rongshi. The experience of Xiong, who gave a comprehensive account of her childhood, is highlighted here.

Xiong came to Singapore a few years ago with her husband, who was a conductor of Western music. Her parents were not musicians, but they liked music, and let Xiong and her sister learn music at an early age. During the Cultural Revolution, Chinese music was broadcast over the radio. According to the impression of Singapore's Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, who went on a business trip to the Mainland in 1971, although he and his companions were Chinese in China, they "felt like foreigners". He could "hear the revolutionary songs from the train, from the hotel lobby, from the toilet, all praising Chairman Mao Zedong" (Wong Tik Wai *et al* 2000:19). These must have been what Xiong heard as a child. She highlighted the opera excerpts performed by *Guangbo Wengong Tuan* 广播文工团 [Broadcast Cultural Group] and conducted by famous musician Peng Xiuwen 彭修文. These were broadcast over the radio every day and she liked them very much. After hearing a zheng piece *Xingfu Qushui Dao Anchun* performed by the *Dianying Yuetuan* 电影乐团 [Film Orchestra], her mother decided to let her learn the zheng. At that time, her family was poor and could not afford a zheng, so her father found a piece of wood, put in some nails and tied a few pieces of string over the wood. This simulated the zheng and Xiong used it to practice fingering techniques. Later on, her parents managed to ask a carpenter friend to make a zheng for Xiong. In order to facilitate Xiong's learning, her parents changed their house for a simpler one that was nearer to Xiong's zheng teacher. In 1976, when Xiong was about fifteen years old,

many orchestras started recruiting members. There was a high demand for musicians because the Cultural Revolution had resulted in very few musicians being trained in the past ten years. She was eventually accepted into an orchestra, and began her career as a professional zheng musician.[40] One interesting issue Xiong mentioned was the difference in musical style between Singapore and the Mainland. She said that Singaporean musicians found her expression too "strong", which probably meant loud and fast. After she adapted to the Singaporean style, when she made a trip to Beijing, the Mainland musicians commented that her expression had become too "soft". Xiong's explanation was that this was a difference between the northern Chinese musical style which was strong, and the southern style which was soft. If this is true, it would mean that Singaporean Chinese musicians do have a distinctive style that may have derived from music of the southern Chinese dialect groups in Singapore. Mainland zheng musicians from the 1970s often learnt from more than one teacher and combined a number of styles, and Mainland music which was used for political purpose could easily be used in the Singapore context with a minimal change of musical interpretations.

Language Issue

Mainland zheng teachers were faced with the issue of language and culture when teaching zheng music students in Singapore. I had similar problem when I taught zheng in Singapore from 1993 to 1996. The main difficulty was explaining zheng music interpretations to students. According to Xiong, her students could not grasp the meaning of "flowing water" in the context required by zheng music. The context required by

[40] She subsequently learnt from Cao Zheng and Zhang Yan, who helped her to improve her fingering techniques and musical expression.

zheng music was essentially the same as that of Chinese poetry, and basically carried connotations such as appreciation of the elegance of the poems describing "flowing water", appreciation of the natural environment of mountains and rivers in the Mainland, and hopefully appreciation of the aesthetics of traditional Chinese landscape paintings. This appreciation was apparently lacking when Xiong's students asked her whether "flowing water" meant turning on the tap. Xiong also had difficulty explaining the distinctions between *xi* 溪, *jiang* 江 and *he* 河 to her students in Singapore. *Xi* means brook, *jiang* and *he* are both river, but *he* means small river and *jiang* means large river. These were words with obvious meanings to students in Taiwan or on the Mainland, but in Singapore, the average student would be more proficient in English and the level of Chinese was often not adequate for many of them to be sensitive to such distinctions. I had similar experience when I taught zheng music in Singapore. However, I found that I could sometimes get the meaning across by explaining in English, and students were often more comfortable when I did so. Most zheng musicians in Taiwan and – from what Xiong said – in the Mainland were used to teaching zheng techniques in terms of vocabulary such as those from Chinese poetry, the main objective being to allow the students to understand the required expression in a piece of zheng music. Xiong mentioned the problem she herself had when learning *yaozhi* from Fan Shang'e. Xiong took a long time to learn from Fan, who explained the technique by describing what it should sound like – "*Dazhu Xiaozhu Luo Yupan*" (see section 3.3.4) – and the kind of feeling it should give to the listener, instead of how the fingers should pluck the strings. Eventually, Xiong got the technique right after trying out many ways. It is possible that a mechanical explanation may be able to produce the desired result, and some Mainland

zheng teachers seemed to be moving in this direction (e.g. Wang and Wang 1996). In Singapore, it is not known whether a good English translation of the required expressions would solve the problem, but it is clear that for now, language and culture remain important issues in the transmission of zheng music in Singapore. Zheng techniques, however, could reach a very high level of virtuosity in Singapore. When I visited Zhang Lufenn, another Mainland zheng teacher in Singapore, she asked one of her Singaporean students, Fu Jichun 符绩淳, to play a modern zheng piece. Poised over the zheng at full concentration, the student began the rendition of the long piece, confidently going through complex combinations of melody and harmony with fast and complicated fingering techniques. Fu was about fifteen years old and studying in one of the schools in Singapore. With her skills, it should not be difficult for her to go on to a career in zheng music.[41] If such high level of technical skills were possible, "proper" expression of zheng music may not be an insurmountable barrier even if it had to be taught in English.

Modes of Transmission

As described earlier, zheng music showed three modes of transmission in Singapore, one in government related organisations, one with sponsorship by the government, and one through private organisations. The first mode was mainly in schools, the second mode community centres, and the third mode included music companies and freelance teaching. Many of the zheng musicians I interviewed taught in schools. Each of them would often teach zheng music in a number of primary or

[41] However, when I asked if she ever considered zheng music as a profession, her answer was no. Zheng music was only a hobby, and she would probably go through Singapore's education, graduate from university and find a job with her degree. She would consider a zheng music career only if she could not find a job.

secondary schools. Zheng music in schools was not part of the examinable curriculum, but one of the many extra-curricular activities that students could select. Many students who learnt zheng music in school also attended zheng classes outside schools for extra training. In 1997, Dunman High School had about fifty students playing zheng music, possibly one of the largest zheng groups in schools in Singapore. The instructor of the zheng group was Yin Qun, who was invited to work in Singapore by Tay Teow Kiat, the conductor in charge of the Chinese orchestra in Dunman. In the 1990s, Tay also employed many Mainland zheng teachers.

Turning now to community centres, these were government sponsored in the sense that the venues for the classes were provided by the centres. Zheng teachers had to share the earnings from zheng classes with the centres. The classes could be initiated by zheng teachers themselves. Tan Chin Huat and Thum Soon Boon were two well-known zheng teachers who had taught in many community centres (see photo 23). Examples of the third mode include Lian Rongshi's Chong Yee Music Centre, and Lowry Music School to which Thum was affiliated. These were registered as businesses. Chong Yee, for instance, was located in a shopping centre. In addition, there were zheng musicians who took up freelance teaching. Freelance zheng teachers advertised in newspapers, and in the year 2001, there were often three to five advertisements each week. Once, when I called to inquire, some of them were already full with students. Some would travel to students' homes to teach, and some taught in music shops.

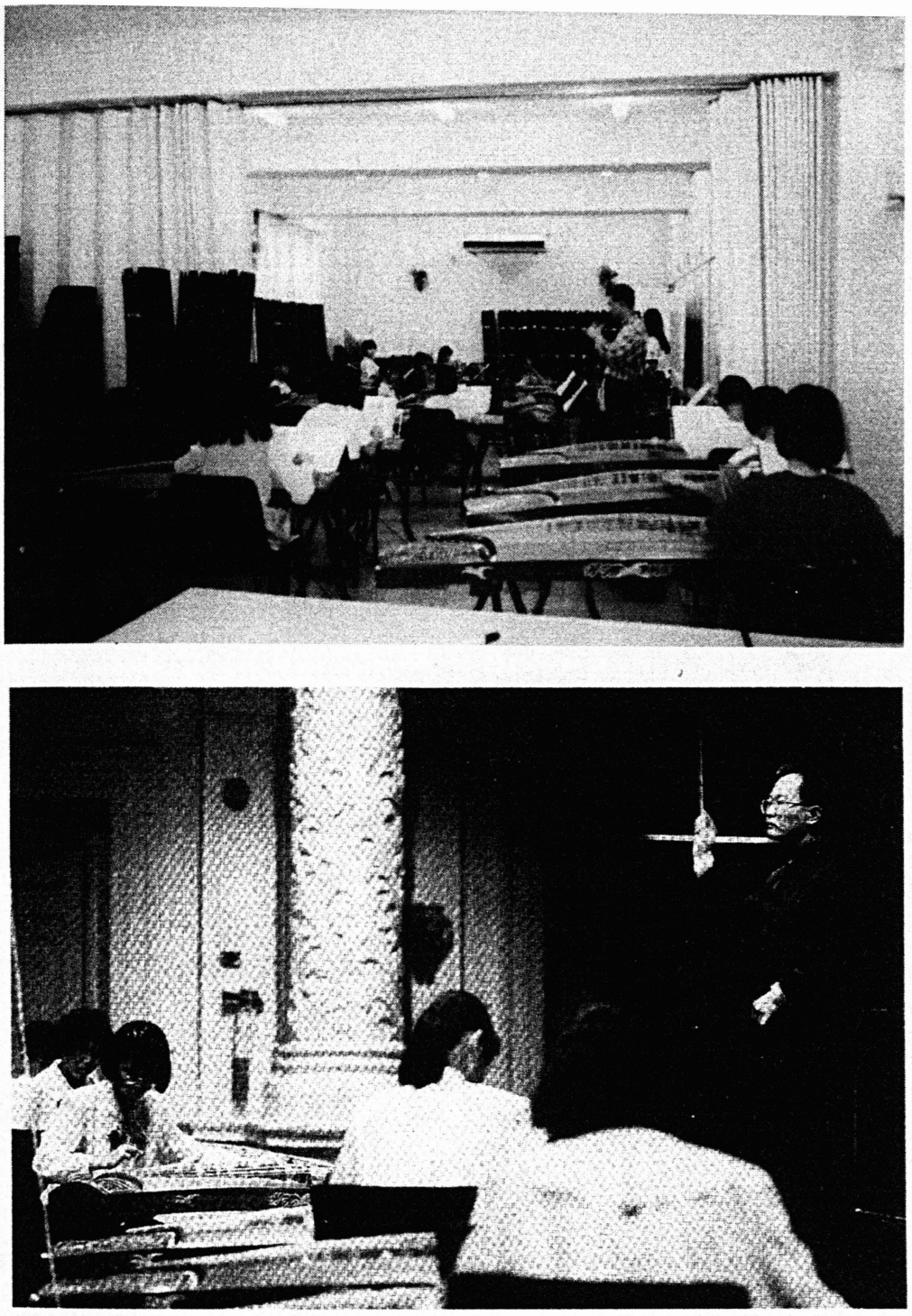


Photo 23. Zheng practice and concert in Singapore.[42]

[42] Top: Tan Chin Huat instructing a children's zheng class at Changkat Community Centre. (Photo taken in 1997 by the author). Bottom: Thum Soon Boon conducting Mountbatten Guzheng Performing Group on. 7 August 1994 at Victoria Concert Hall. (Photo from programme notes of the concert, *Guzheng Xinyun* 古箏新韵 [New Expressions of Zheng].)

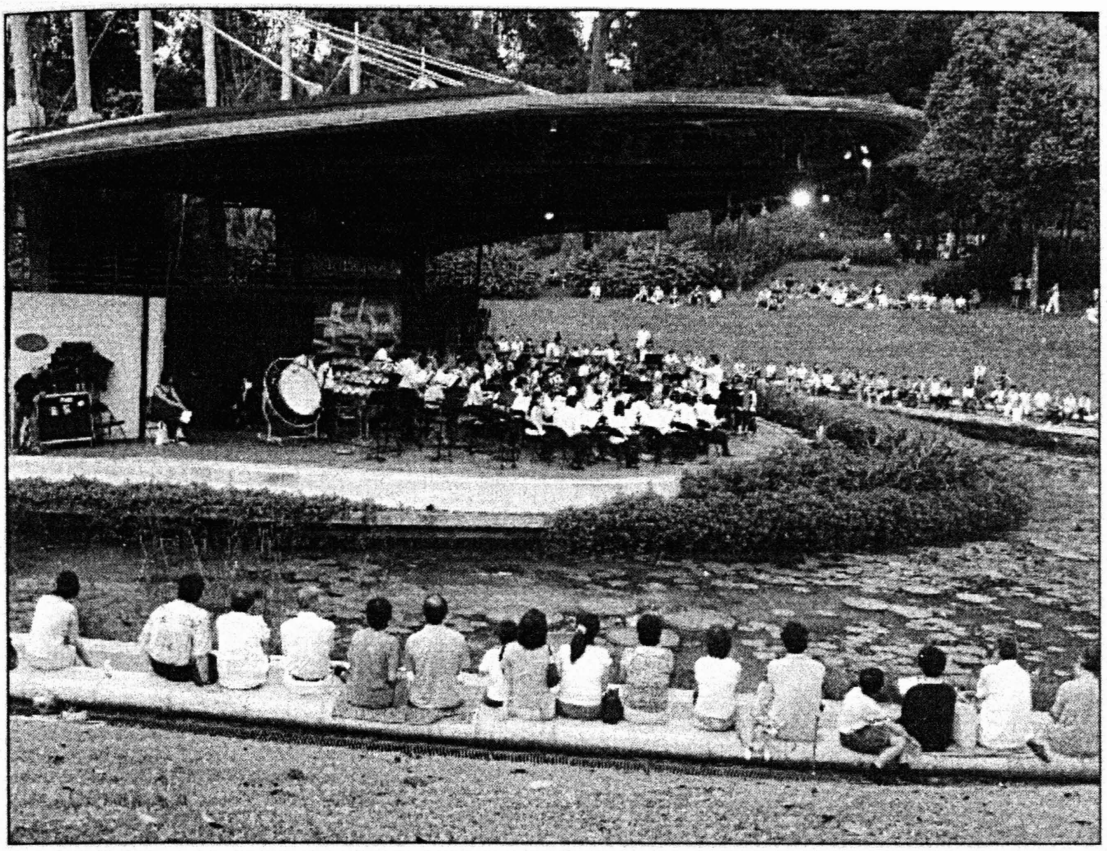


Photo 24. Outdoor Chinese concert at the Botanical Garden in 2003.

In this way, Chinese music is brought to more people in the population (see photo 24). In 2002, a Chinese music competition prize giving ceremony was held in the Esplanade, with a section on zheng music. Famous musicians were invited to sit on the panel of judges, and Hon Seewah was one of them. Each of the judges, as well as some of the prize winners, had to perform during the ceremony (see photo 25). After the competition, a workshop was organised in which Hon was invited to give her views on the competitors, who were mostly children or teenagers, as well as to give a demonstration of her own performance. This openness was unique and refreshing, even for me who had attended numerous zheng competitions in Taiwan, and have been in the zheng business for twenty years.

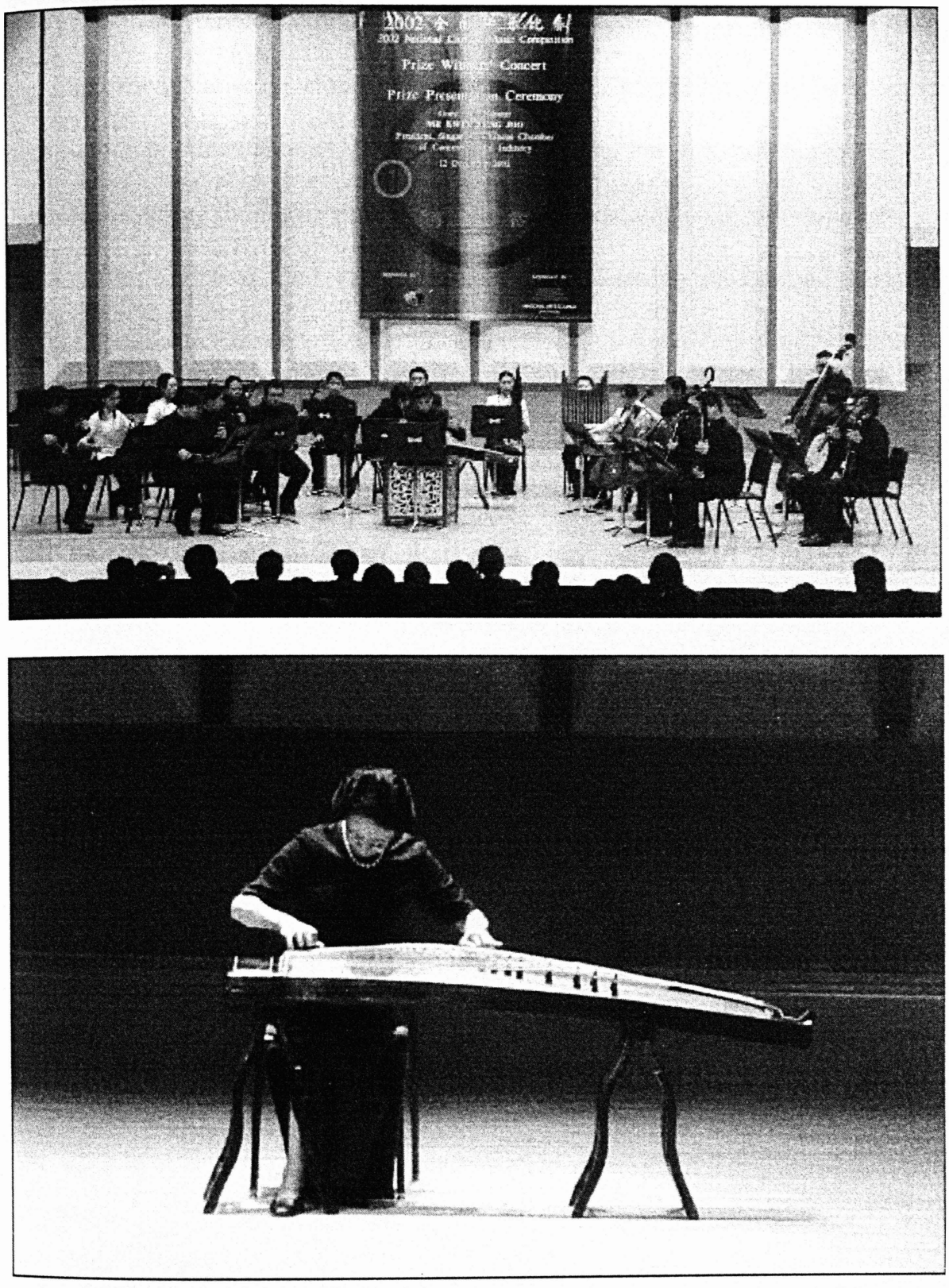


Photo 25. 2002 National Chinese Music Competition Ceremony[43]

[43]Photo 25 (Top) Prize Winner's Concert; (Bottom) Each of the judges at the 2002 National Chinese Music Competition gave a performance. Shown here is Hon Seewah playing the zheng.

From the discussion in this chapter, there is a clear correlation between political changes and zheng music development in Singapore. If zheng music practice is viewed as construction of ethnic identity, the need for this identity has persisted among the Chinese ethnic group in Singapore after two to three generations. Zheng music has helped to foster a continual link with the Mainland, and learning of Mainland zheng music has contributed to strengthening this identity.

Chapter 5

Comparison of Musical Styles

Personal styles, fingering techniques and repertory are discussed in this chapter. As remarked in the early chapters, fingering techniques had been a major problem during the period of transition to twenty-one stringed zheng music. Zheng musicians in Taiwan and Singapore used the traditional techniques to play faster, which were not efficient, and as result the expressiveness of the twenty-one stringed zheng music was weakened. The main difference between traditional and modern technique is the method of plucking the strings. The traditional method uses *jiatanfa* 夾彈法, in which the fingers are straight and the plucking motion is downwards, so that after plucking, the fingers come to rest momentarily on the adjacent strings, as in *cuoyin*. In the modern technique, called *titanfa* 提彈法, the fingers are arched the plucking motion is upward. This means that it can move to another string immediately after plucking, which is an important reason why it could play faster.[1]

As to the zheng repertory, there is significant difference in arrangements and performances between the early periods and the recent period. For example, recent arrangements tend to add more harmony. Zheng music today adopts Mainland styles closely. This chapter gives a direct comparison between sixteen-stringed style of the early period, and Mainland Chinese style for the modern zheng. For this purpose, the

[1] There are also other differences. In modern techniques, artificial nails are worn on the side of the fingertips opposite the real nails, instead of the side of the real nails for traditional techniques. Traditional techniques mainly use three fingers, thumb, index and middle, on which artificial nails, if any, are worn, whereas modern techniques use more fingers.

styles of Taiwanese zheng master Liang Tsaip'ing, which also bear much similarity to the zheng styles in Singapore in the early periods, will be compared directly with the styles of Mainland zheng masters Hon Seewah and Qiu Dacheng.[2]

5.1 Personal Styles

Musical Style

It is necessary first to distinguish between the music of the modern zheng in Taiwan and Singapore on the one hand, and the musical style of the modern zheng and regional zheng schools in the Mainland on the other. Regional zheng schools include zheng repertory and styles originating from different regions in China, such as Shandong, Henan, Chaozhou, Kejia, Zhejiang, etc. As discussed in section 2.4.1, these have developed over a few centuries. By the 1950s, many zheng musicians began to practise a mixture of repertory from various zheng schools. These include zheng musicians who graduated from music conservatories in the Mainland, such as Hon Seewah and Qiu Dacheng, and zheng students taught by these musicians, as well as zheng musicians in Singapore and Taiwan, such as Liang Tsaip'ing. Their techniques are tabulated in Appendix B for comparison.

Although the new generations of zheng musicians tend to play music from different zheng schools, their music styles are different from the styles of the regional zheng schools. For instance, Taiwanese zheng musician Huang Haoyin, who travelled to the Mainland quite often after 1987, commented that performances by musicians from regional zheng schools sounded very different from both zheng music heard in Taiwan,

[2] However when Hon and Qiu played traditional pieces, they also used traditional techniques.

and the zheng repertory played by Mainland zheng masters. The expression and nuances were unique, and she felt that there was a relation between the expressive nuances and the languages. Although modern zheng masters such as Liang Tsaip'ing, Hon Seewah and Qiu Dacheng played music from different zheng schools, it was clear from their rendition that they had unique styles. Each would apply a similar style of expression to all of the pieces that he or she played. In addition, they have styles that were different from one another.

Personal styles take on particular significance because these zheng masters often have large followings of students. Zheng students and musicians in Taiwan and Singapore often discuss the musical styles of different zheng masters, with which they are more familiar, instead of styles of different zheng schools. The reason is that zheng musicians from Taiwan and Singapore tended to learn from these zheng masters in music conservatories in the large cities of Beijing or Shanghai, instead of from small towns in regional zheng schools. This thesis is largely concerned with these personal styles in modern zheng music.

Three Masters

Liang Tsaip'ing migrated to Taiwan in 1949 and had little relationship with the modern music conservatories on the Mainland. His initial training was in the Henan zheng school. At the same time, he had learnt *pipa* and *qin*. According to Liang (1996: 10), he adapted many of the techniques from *pipa, yangqin, qin* , Vietnamese zheng, Monochord, kayagum, and koto to zheng, and eventually developed a style which was distinct from zheng masters in the Mainland. The isolation of Taiwan from the Mainland

for decades also meant that he had little opportunity to make any contact with Mainland zheng musicians. In this way, Liang evolved his personal style by combining techniques from different instruments, rather than different zheng schools. A large number of zheng teachers in Taiwan are his "grand"-students or "great grand"-students, including the author of this thesis. A distinctive feature of Liang's style was the lack of regular tempo, which has been mentioned in section 3.3.1. He varied his tempo quite liberally throughout any piece of music he played, and used this as a means to create the kinds of feeling he desired in different parts of the music.

Hon Seewah migrated to Hong Kong from the Mainland after the Cultural Revolution, in 1981. I learnt zheng music from her in Hong Kong for a year in 1991, and learnt much about her philosophy and approach in zheng music. Hon placed great emphasis on simplicity. In all her fingering techniques, she seemed to minimise the amount of motion needed to achieve the same sound effect, and maximised the expression of the melody itself by appropriate use of techniques. There were two very distinctive characteristics in her performance: one is that every note was very clear (apart from those played by her left hand finger tips instead of finger nails);[3] another was that ornamentation and harmony were used very carefully to provide maximum expression to the melody.

Qiu Dacheng was one of the leading zheng musicians on the Mainland in the 1980s and 1990s.[4] His musical styles and techniques were representative of the Mainland, especially since he had produced many top students who went on to become famous zheng performers. As a result, the music style of Qiu tended to be one of the

[3] She did keep some fingernail, of about 1.5 mm long, on her left-hand index finger which she used to pluck the strings.
[4] He passed away in 1997.

dominant styles in the Mainland. During the Cultural Revolution, Qiu worked in a zheng factory, and participated in modifying the basic construction of the zheng. He worked closely with his composer wife, Xu Xiaolin, who is trained in Western music. She is a prolific composer, and has composed a number of widely performed zheng pieces. She also has rearranged traditional pieces into modernised styles, such the duet for *Chunjiang Huayueye* to be discussed in section 5.4. Qiu released many recordings of her compositions.[5]

Comparative Study

In the following sections, a comparative study of the styles of these three masters will be made. This is based largely on my personal experience and contacts with them. I started learning the zheng in Taiwan in 1980 under Yang Ronghui, who had studied under Liang Tsaip'ing. As a result, what I knew and practised for ten years from 1980 to 1990, before going to Hong Kong, was essentially Liang's style and techniques. After going to Hong Kong, I studied under Hon Seewah between 1991 and 1992. During this time, I found that it was necessary to learn a completely different set of fingering techniques. The change was so drastic that I had to start all over again as if I was a beginner. It was particularly difficult because I had to forget the techniques I had learnt in Taiwan, which had almost become part of my instinct after ten years. In order to complete my course within one year, I practised very hard, and suffered from a painful "sports injury" in my hands, which resulted from over-practising. This made it all the more obvious to me the great difference between Taiwanese techniques and Mainland techniques. During my studies in the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts, I had the

[5] See Discography – Qiu Dacheng, *Jianchang Yue* 建昌月 (1992).

opportunity to meet Qiu Dacheng (see photo 26), who was invited to the academy to lecture and perform. I was able to learn some techniques from him during his stay in Hong Kong. I subsequently settled down in Singapore, and in 1996 I had another chance to meet Qiu when he was invited to perform in Singapore by the Singapore Chinese Orchestra. I took this opportunity to conduct a two-hour interview with him, during which he talked about not only his personal styles, but also his involvement in the past few decades of zheng development on the Mainland.

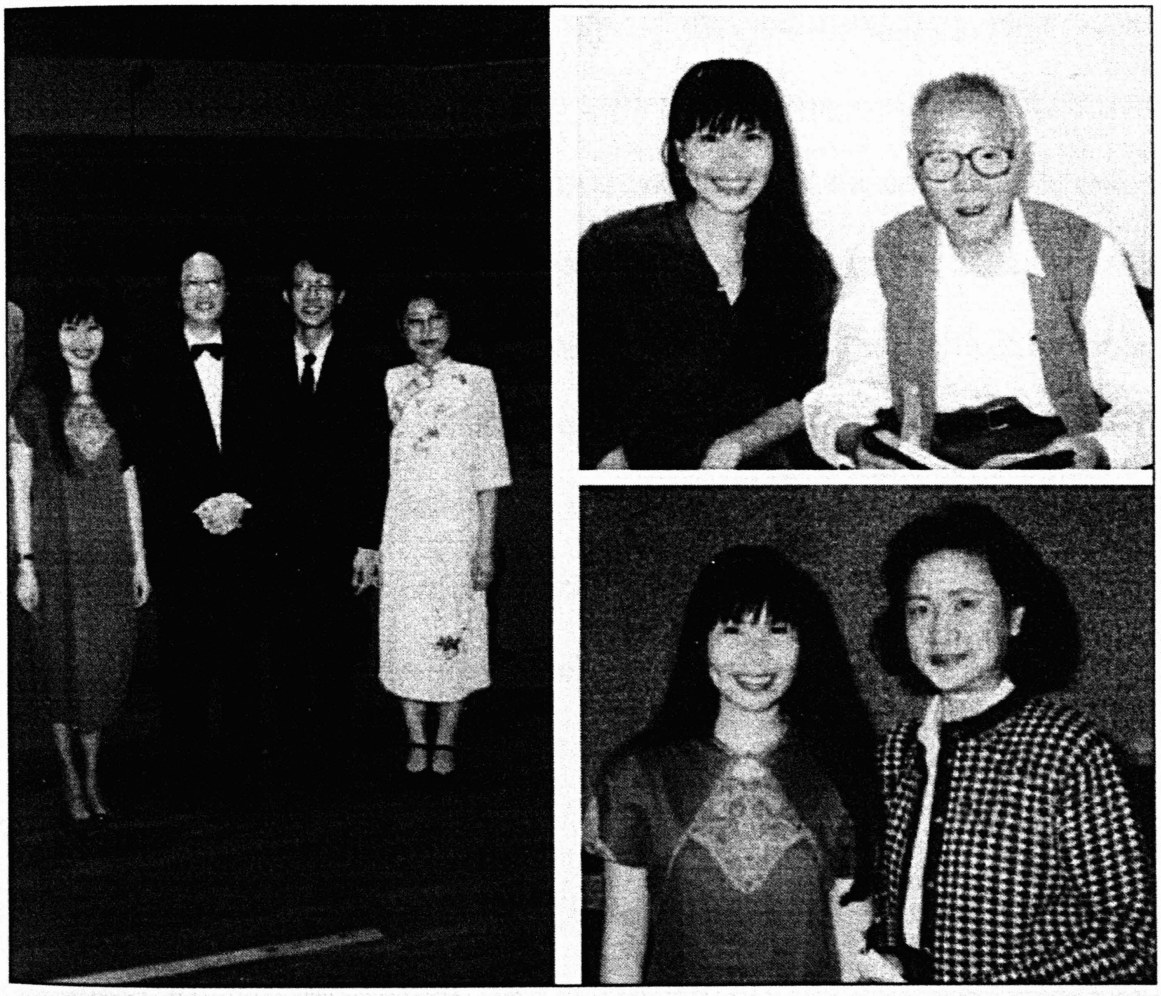


Photo 26. Meeting zheng Masters in Hong Kong.[6]

[6] Left: Qiu Dacheng in the middle, the author to his right, Lin Yonghong 林永宏 and Wen Weizhen 文伟珍 to his left. Bottom right: The author with Hon Seewah. Both photos were taken in 1991 in Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts. Top right: The author with Cao Zheng in Hong Kong in 1991.

Perhaps the most obvious difference between Liang Tsaip'ing and Qiu and Hon is that Liang insisted on retaining the sixteen-stringed, steel stringed zheng, which he considered the authentic version, whereas both Qiu Dacheng and Hon Seewah used the modernised twenty-one stringed, nylon stringed zheng.

5.2 Artificial Nails

Artificial nails are an important part of the modern zheng techniques. It is relevant because their use and control are some of the most difficult issues of the new techniques. Traditionally zheng musicians were used to using real nails, which were much easier to control, as Taiwanese zheng musicians did in the early periods until 1987, for both sixteen and the modern zheng music. Artificial nails had the advantage that they could play the music faster because they effectively extended the length of the fingers, and they could also produce louder and clearer notes. Real nails were not suitable for the modern repertory because the faster techniques meant that they could wear out or get damaged quickly. In order to understand the modern zheng techniques, it is therefore necessary to understand the use of artificial nails.

Wearing Artificial Nails

Liang Tsaip'ing preferred to grow real nails to the appropriate length for plucking of the zheng, whereas Hon Seewah and Qiu Dacheng used artificial nails made from turtle shell. Using real nails tended to be the style in the early periods, though it was not necessarily traditional in any sense, as written records on the use of artificial nails in

ancient times exist (Lei 1994). If real nails were not available for some reason, for example because they were broken or were not sufficiently long, Liang would wear artificial nails. However, these would be worn on the same side of the fingers as the real nails, unlike Qiu and Hon, who wore them on the opposite side, in contact with the skin of the fingertips.

Qiu would wear between three to eight artificial nails, depending on the zheng music he was playing. If he wore three nails, these would be worn on his right hand thumb, index and middle fingers. These were the minimum that would be worn for all pieces. If there were a need to wear more, these would normally be worn on the right hand ring finger, the left-hand thumb, index, middle or ring fingers. It would never be worn on the little fingers. The nails were worn on the left-hand fingers only when Qiu needed them to pluck the strings to the right of the bridge for harmony. According to Qiu, this was because he felt that the notes produced by plucking with the left hand ought to sound the same as those produced by plucking with the right hand. Hon, however, felt that it would become very cumbersome when *anyin* was required. The nails could easily get in caught in a neighbouring string, and the string that was pressed might even get stuck between nail and fingertip, creating unwanted noise in the music.

Real Nails Advantages

Liang Tsaip'ing felt that wearing artificial nails would produce scratchy sound, possibly because of their harder texture and the greater difficulty in controlling them. He preferred to use real nails. This meant growing them to the right length and trimming them to the right shape. However, not everyone's nails were hard enough for plucking

the strings. If they were too soft, then artificial ones might have to be used. Alternatively, a special lacquer could be applied to strengthen the nails. For many of Liang's students, the artificial nails that they used were made from plastic shaped to conform to the curvature of the real nails, rather than from turtle shell (see Appendix A). False nails were more slippery than real nails so that it was very easy to slip over the intended string and hit the adjacent one. It took longer practice before the fingers could be instinctively placed at the correct distance from the strings and could pluck them with the artificial nails confidently.

There was another disadvantage of artificial nails. When playing *tiao* with the right hand, it would be difficult if artificial nails were worn on the opposite side of the finger to the real nail. This was because during the outward stroke, when the finger is flicked outwards at a string, it would be easy for the string to get stuck in the gap between the artificial nail and fingertip. It could also result in the production of two notes, because the artificial nail would go out of control and hit the neighbouring string. So in the performance of Qiu Dacheng and Hon Seewah, whenever there were notes which normally used *tiao* in the pieces they played, they would change it to some other techniques. As a result, *tiao* is seldom used today in the twenty-one stringed zheng music. One more reason for the use of real nails by Liang Tsaip'ing was that real nails were more suitable for steel strings, because playing with artificial nails tended to produce scratchy sound on the steel string. This could be because steel strings produce much louder sound that nylon strings so that any noise would be amplified. This difference became very obvious to zheng musicians when real and artificial nails were actually played on the steel strings.

Artificial Nails Usage

Both Qiu and Hon wore artificial nails, but even so there were differences in the nails and in their approaches. Qiu used artificial nails in which the side touching the finger skin is flat, whereas the other side is convex (see Appendix A). The nail as a whole tapered towards its tip. His reasoning was that this could reduce scratchy sounds caused by friction between the nails and the strings because of the smaller area of contact, and hence produce purer notes. However, because his nails were quite thick, the notes produced tend to sound less "bright" - that is less shrill. The thicker nails were also heavier and therefore less flexible. This made it difficult for beginners to learn the zheng. The fact that artificial nails were also worn on the left hand made it even more difficult. Qiu always encouraged his students to overcome all difficulties by practising long and hard, and many did succeed in becoming professional zheng performers.

Hon Seewah did not wear any artificial nails on her left hand because she felt that some parts of zheng music should require muffled notes which need not always sound as "bright" as those produced by the right hand. Plucking with the skin of the left-hand fingertips, rather than with artificial nails, would produce muffled notes. Hon used this when her left hand played chords or arpeggios. Hon felt that the left hand should produce softer notes in order to emphasise the melody played by the right hand. Another example of this was the playing of glissandos with a real nail on her left hand.[7] When she used glissandos to simulate ripples on the river in *Chunjiang Huayueye*, it produced a unique sound effect distinctly different from the ongoing melody. Also, Hon felt that playing

[7] The sound produced the real nail was softer than that by the artificial one. This agreed with her idea that the role of left hand was just to provide harmony accompaniment, which should be softer than the melody played by the right hand.

with artificial nails on the left hand would create scratchy sound when plucking.

5.3 Fingering techniques

The commonly used techniques by the three masters are now compared. These include *yaozhi*, *huayin, yinyin* and *payin* – respectively tremolo, slide, vibrato and arpeggio. Each master had his or her own way of executing these techniques. Their methods, while achieving the same objective, differed in expressive nuances, such as sound quality and variations in loudness of notes. The reasons were usually because of plucking at different parts of a string and at different angles, doing so with or without nails, pressing the string at different speeds, and applying the strength from different parts of the arms. Each zheng master would always have a ready explanation as to why his or her own method was superior. This suggests that much thought and effort had gone into the development of these techniques.

Yaozhi

Yaozhi is one of the most basic techniques in zheng. It involves plucking a string repeatedly by stroking a right hand nail quickly back and forth over the same string. The three zheng masters had rather different ways of executing this technique. For instance, their hand postures were different. Hon would rest her little finger on the "head" of the zheng, that is, the right hand end beyond the fixed bridge (see photo 27). This appeared to be supporting her right hand, but in fact, it was acting as a guide to stabilise the position of the hand so that it would not drift away unconsciously while playing *yaozhi* on a particular string. The tip of her index finger would be placed in contact with the tip

of the thumb in order to grip the artificial nail on the thumb. The whole of the right hand would be pivoted about the wrist during *yaozhi*, while the arm remained stationary.

The right hand posture of Qiu when he played *yaozhi* was similar to that of Hon, with some differences. His right hand ring finger would rest on the right hand end of the zheng, or it would be directly poised over the strings (photo 27- *zhazhuang yao*). Also, his wrist was not used as a pivot. It remained rigid while the whole arm was used for shaking. As it was necessary to keep the whole arm suspended in the air for extended period of time, it could be tiring. Further, Qiu also used *xuanwan yao* 悬腕摇, *youyao* and left handed *yaozhi* very often. X*uanwan yao* means that the hand the hand does not rest on the zheng while *yaozhi* is being played on the same part of the string. *Youyao* is a type of *yaozhi* where the right hand can be moved left and right over the string while doing the tremolo. Left handed *yaozhi* refers to *yaozhi* using the left hand. These have the effect of varying the timbre of the note compared with the more common right handed *yaozhi*. Qiu felt that without the constraint of resting on one end of the zheng, his right hand could be more flexible as there would be no need for it to remain fixed at one location. Hon, however, used *youyao* when it was necessary and did not think there would be any problem with flexibility. Both Qiu and Hon also had another mode of *yaozhi* known as *shuangzhi yao* 双指摇. This uses two fingers to play *yaozhi* on two strings simultaneously More fingers may also be used.[8] For this technique, both Qiu and Hon would pivot their hands about the wrists.

[8] Qiu more frequently played more then two fingers such as *sanzhi yao* 三指摇 with three fingers (see photo 27) and *sizhi yao* 四指摇 with four fingers.

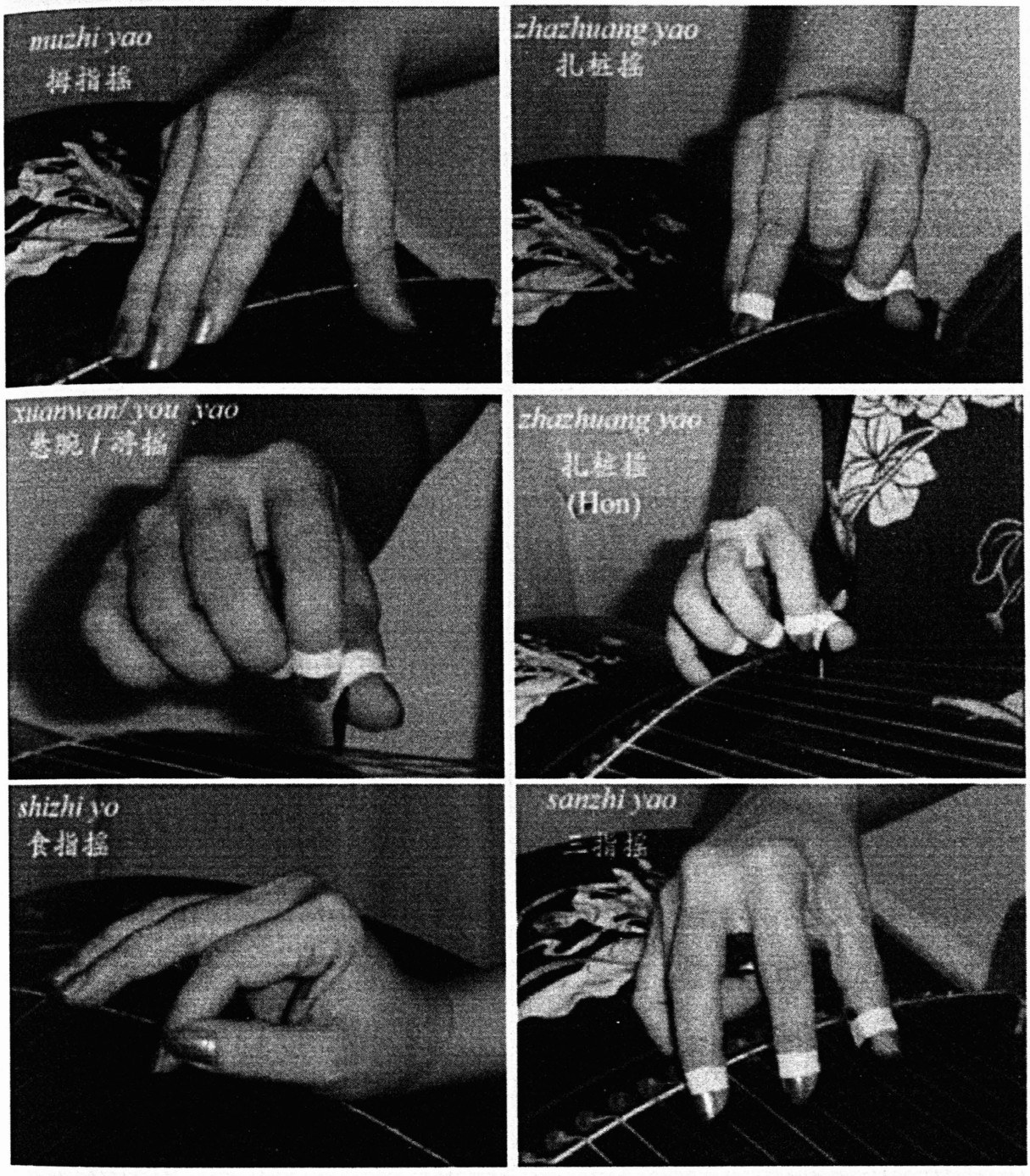


Photo 27. Fingering techniques.

Liang Tsaip'ing had a different style. He would rest the whole of the side of his right hand on the head of the zheng. The only visible motion would be that of the thumb swinging over the string, pivoted about its joint at the palm (see photo 27- muzhi *yao*).

There would be no motion in the rest of the right hand. Alternatively, Liang may also use his index finger for the *yaozhi*. His wrist would then be resting on the head of the zheng and acting as the pivot. Compared to the methods of the other two masters, this posture of the right hand permitted finer control in terms of speed of the tremolo and loudness of the note. However, the posture is tiring for beginners and much practice is needed before it can be perfected. Another difference is that Liang and Qiu used *shizhiyao*, but Hon did not. Liang's *shizhiyao* tended to b shorter, while Qiu's was longer.

To complete the picture, Chan Kwok Hing (photo 28) had another variation. When playing *yaozhi*, he would move only the segment of his thumb at the tip, using the joint with the adjacent segment of the thumb as a pivot. He argued that moving any of the rest of the right hand or arm would mean moving a more massive object, and should therefore be slower. The pivot positions of the (right handed) *yaozhi* techniques of these zheng musicians are summarised as follows:

Pivot / Musician	**Thumb *yao***	**Index *yao***	***Shuangzhi yao*** or more
Liang	thumb joint at palm	wrist	--
Hon	wrist	--	Wrist
Qiu	elbow or ring finger	wrist	Wrist
Chan	joint between thumb segments	wrist	--

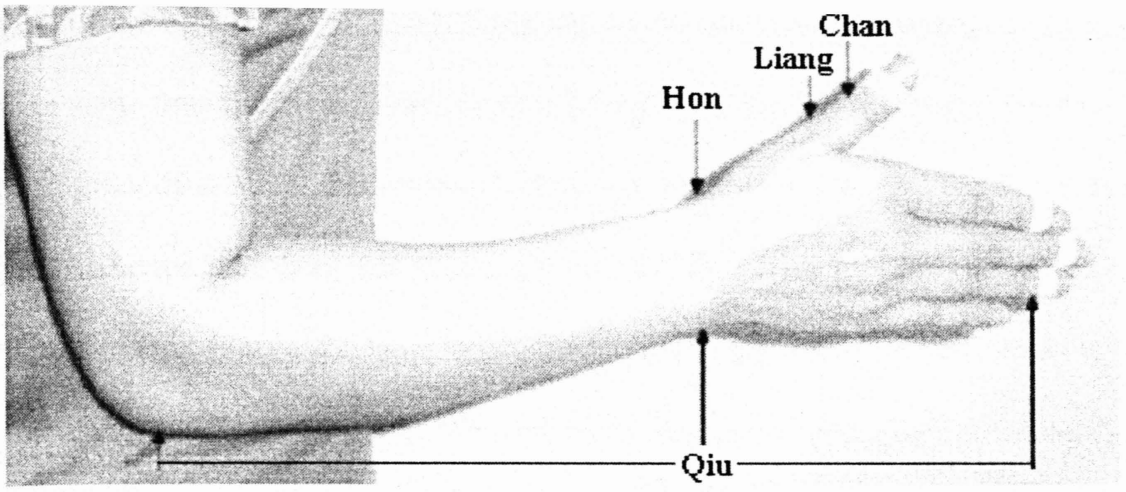


Figure 11. Pivot positions in *yaozhi* techniques of various zheng musicians.

It is clear that the major difference between these techniques is that different parts of the right arm or hand are used as pivot (see figure 11). This apparently simple difference had great significance in the transition from sixteen stringed to twenty-one stringed zheng music in Taiwan, in terms of degree of flexibility and hence expressiveness of a performance.

Huayin

Huayin, the pressing of the string on the left side of the bridge to obtain a different note, is the technique which produces one of the most characteristic sounds in zheng music, in the form of a very distinctive glide from one note to another. There are a few ways of pressing the strings, and each could produce a different sound effect. Some common examples are: (1) by pressing on the string after plucking, so that the note slides to a higher note; (2) the reverse, by pressing on the string first and releasing it after plucking, so that the note slides to a lower note; and (3) very slow portamento from higher to lower note. The three masters had different views and approaches to this

fundamental zheng technique. Liang Tsaip'ing would slide his left fingers outward to the left at the same time that he was pressing the string. His opinion was that this would produce a graceful motion. Hon Seewah, however, told me not to do this when I learnt under her. She felt that there was absolutely no need for such a motion. To her, *huayin* should be pure and simple pressing. Also, the sliding of the left-hand fingers along the string created much scratchy noise. This problem was absent in the case of Liang because he used steel strings, which were smooth. The nylon strings, however, had a rough texture, as a result of winding of nylon fibres around the steel strings, hence leading to scratchy sounds if the fingers slid over it.

To play *huayin*, both Qiu and Liang would use all three of their left hand index, middle and ring fingers at the same time to press down on the string. Hon differed in that she would use only two fingers of her left hand, the index and the middle, and she had a logical reason for doing so. The explanation of Hon Seewah provided some insight into the thoughts and innovations of Mainland zheng musicians in their development of the modern zheng music. Before considering the effect of using different number of fingers to press a string, it will be useful to first describe the left arm position of the performer while playing *huayin*. When pressing a string, whether two or three fingers are used, the left arm must be stretched out in a direction forty-five degrees to the left with respect to forward direction of the performer. The reason is that the movable bridges are arranged increasingly to the left, for strings that are increasingly distant from the performer's body. The purpose of this is to increase the length of the strings (right of movable bridge) further out so that they would produce lower notes when they are plucked. So movable bridges are arranged along a direction that is about forty-five degrees to the left with

respect to the forward direction. In order to play *huayin*, the left-hand fingers must press the string to the left of the movable bridge. Hence the left hand would have to be stretched in the same direction in order to carry out this action. Now consider first the case where three left-hand fingers are used for pressing. On contact with the string to be pressed, the fingers would have to maintain an angle of ninety degrees to the string. The reason for this is that in order for contact to be possible, the string has to be in contact with all three fingertips. The middle finger would have to be slightly curled, and all three fingers would have to be roughly perpendicular to the string, as the index and ring finger are closer in length, and the middle finger is longer than both (see photo 29).

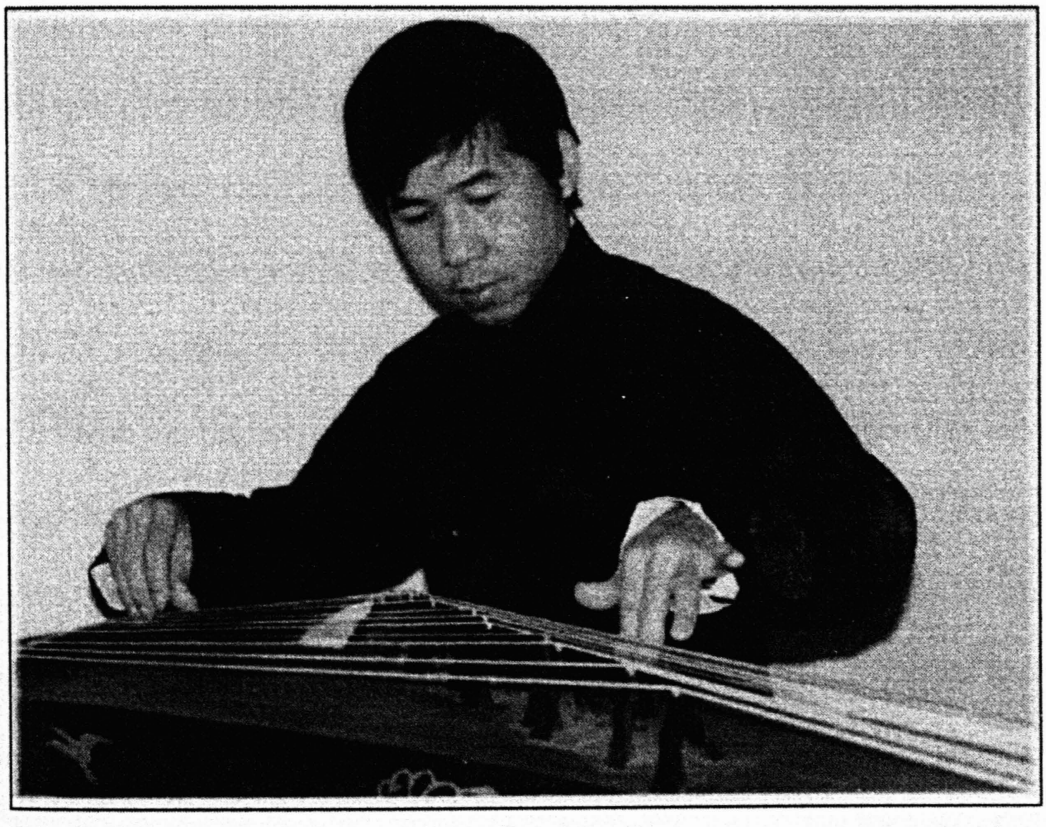


Photo 28. Hand position of Chan Kwok Hing[9]

[9] Photo taken in 1992 (provided by Ch'en Wen).

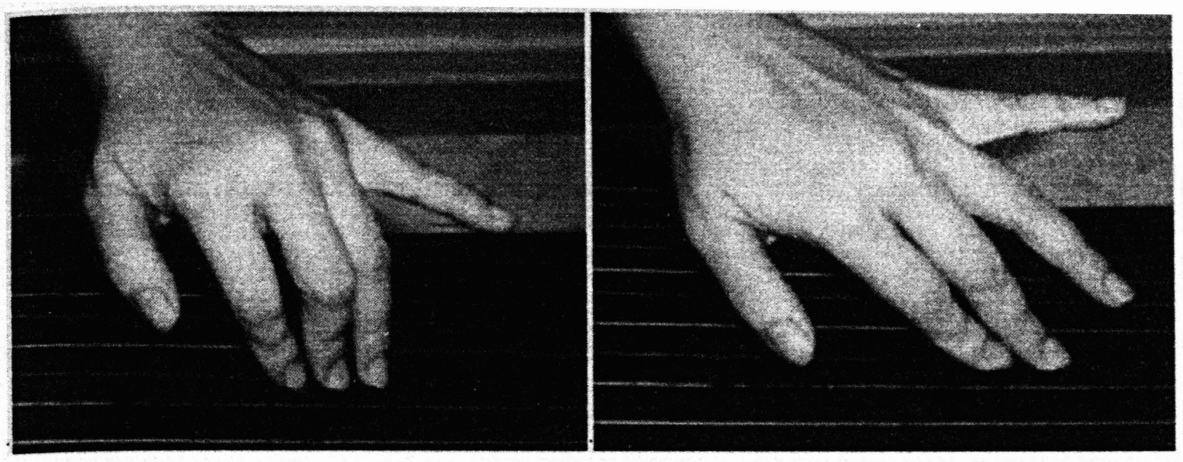


Photo 29. Hand positions in *huayin* techniques of various zheng musicians.[10]

However, in doing so, the whole of the left hand, instead of extending in a straight line with the left arm, would have to be angled towards the front at an angle of forty-five degrees to the natural direction, in order that it would be perpendicular to the string, which is in turn perpendicular to the forward direction of the performer. Hon felt that this would be very awkward and tiring. Consider now the case of using two fingers. When the left-hand index and middle fingers are stretched, their tips could be placed on the string without curling any of the fingers. The string would make an angle of forty-five degrees with the fingers, simply because the middle finger is longer than the index finger. As a result, this made it unnecessary for the left hand to be angled back by forty-five degrees. When the left arm is stretched out at forty-five degrees to the forward direction to press a string, the left hand and the two fingers just had to extend in the same direction as the left hand. The finger tips can come into contact with the string without any bending, so that it would be more comfortable. This is the reason for Hon's preference for the use of two fingers.

[10] Photo(Left) Liang and Qiu (Right) Hon. The positions are similar for *anyin*, *rouyin* and *yinyin*.

Zhanyin

Zhanyin (or *yinyin*) is another basic, widely used technique in zheng performance, and is played by either gently or strongly and repeatedly pressing on a string to the left of the movable bridge, immediately after plucking the same string with the right hand on the right side of the bridge to produce a note. It is essentially a vibrato, and differs from *huayin* in that the pitch does not slide to a different note. In this case, all three masters happened to agree in their styles of execution of the technique - all played this with a simple up-down motion. One other zheng master did have a new-fangled style. Cao Zheng, teacher of Hon and Qiu, invented a completely unique way of playing *zhanyin* – by hooking on to the string and pulling it up as well as pressing it down (see photo 30).[11] He felt that this was more logical and symmetrical. Physically, pulling up the string also increases the tension of the string, as does pressing down, and hence both raise the pitch of the note, but I have not seen any other zheng musicians play this way.[12] Chan Kwok Hing had yet another way of executing *zhanyin*. While pressing, he would simultaneously rock his left-hand left and right, pivoted about the point of contact with the string, with the whole hand oscillating, like vibrato on the violin (see photo 28).

The skin of the left-hand fingertips, instead of nails, was sometimes used to pluck the strings to produce sound effects distinct from those produced by plucking with nails. For instance, Qiu liked to use his left-hand little finger to pluck the strings to produce an empty, hollow sound. Hon, however, preferred to use her left-hand ring finger instead. Her reason was that the little finger had too little flesh at the tip, while the middle finger had too much, so that the ring finger is just right. This probably means that the ring

[11] This is unique among Chinese zheng musicians. According to Dr. Keith Howard (private communication), this is very similar to Korean kayagum technique.
[12] However, I have observed some Japanese *koto* musicians using a similar technique (see photo 30).

finger tip had the right softness to produce notes with the right "hollowness".

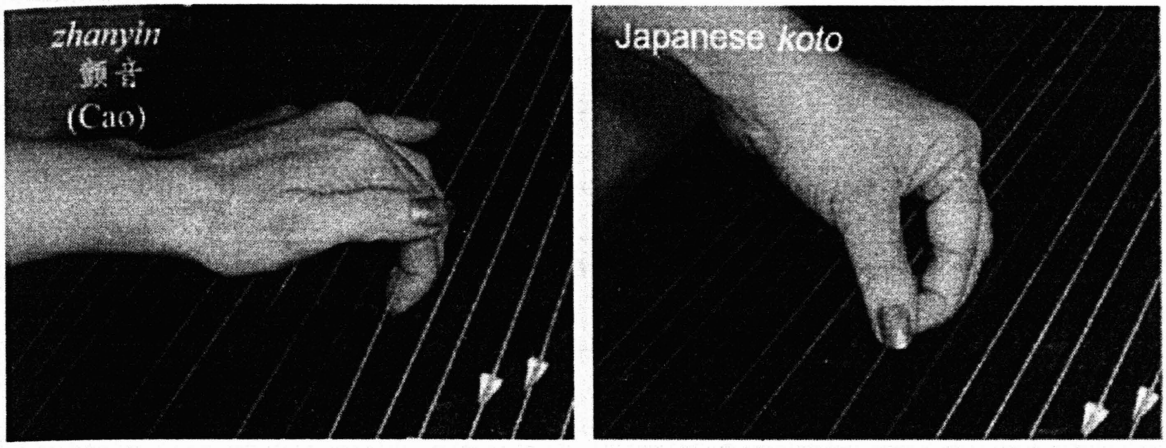


Photo 30. Comparing hand positions of *zhanyin* with Japanese *koto*.

Payin

The three masters had different ways of playing *payin*. In zheng music, there are many variations, but only the basic ones (*zheng payin* 正琶音 [forward arpeggio] and *fan payin* 反琶音 [backward arpeggio]) will be discussed here. In *zheng payin*, the strings are plucked lower to higher notes. Liang kept his fingers straight while playing *zheng payin*, whereas Qiu and Hon would have them arched. All three of them would place their fingers simultaneously over the strings, before plucking them in rapid succession. Hon also had another type. She would place her extended finger on each string only after plucking the previous one. Liang's main characteristic was playing of *payin* simultaneously with his left and right hands, whereas Qiu and Hon would only use their left or right hand at any one time. Qiu and Hon would play three or four notes. They would use their middle and index fingers and thumb, with ring finger if four notes are played (see photo 31). Liang would pluck the two lower notes of the chord with his right

hand, and the highest note with his left hand. Examples of *payin* played by Liang is shown in figure 12. (1) and (2) in (3) and (4) show *zheng payin* (and *fan payin*) played by Hon and Qiu with only one hand, either left or right. (5) is typical of *payin* played by both left and right hand together. (5) can also be played as a *fan payin*. In the case of *fan payin*, Hon would usually play the highest note with her right hand index finger, followed by the lower notes using her left hand (see photo 31-*fan payin*). The syncopation was thus placed on the highest note. Qiu would play all the notes of the chord with the same hand, either left or right. He would pluck in a similar way to Hon, except that the highest note was plucked with his right thumb. However, Liang did not use *fan payin*.

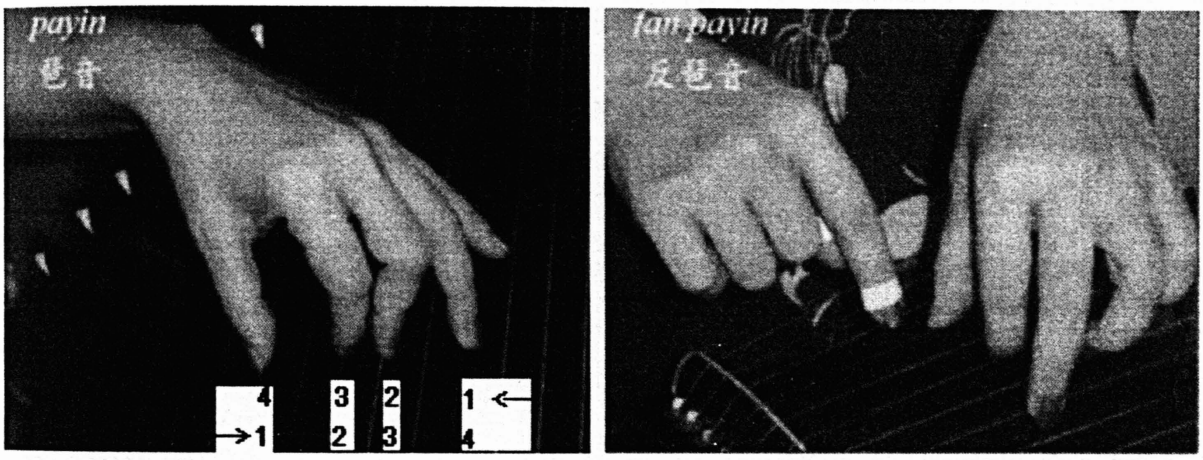


Photo 31. *Payin* technique.[13]

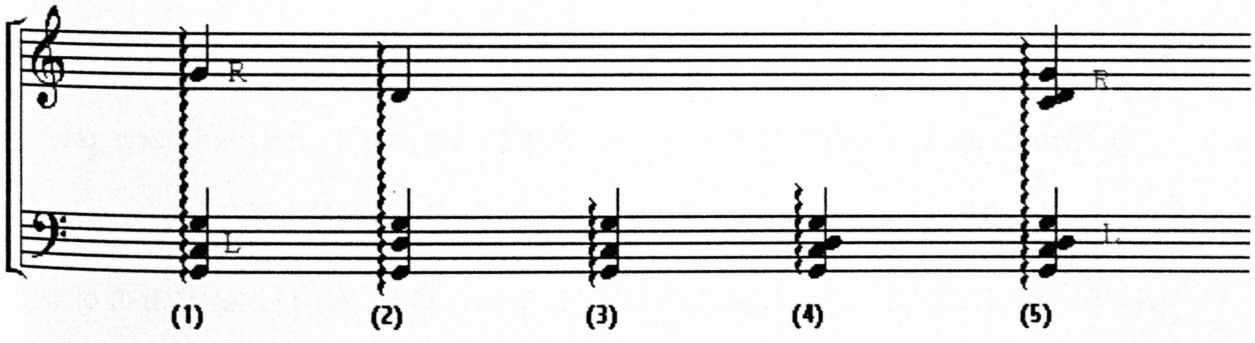


Figure 12. Example of *payin*

[13] Left photo: top row of numbers is order of plucking for *zheng payin*, bottom row is for *fan payin*.

This section demonstrates the great variety of personal styles in zheng music, as well as the large amount of thought and innovation that had gone into improving zheng techniques and expression.

5.4 Repertory

Zheng music today consists of a mixture of new compositions and traditional repertory. Traditional pieces have often been adapted for the modern zheng, by rearranging many of the older pieces for broader tonal range and more complex fingering techniques. This often includes more ornamentation and the addition of harmony. New pieces would be composed with all these features. In this section, a comparative study of *Chunjiang Huayueye* is undertaken. This is one of the few pieces that all three zheng masters, Liang, Qiu and Hon, had performed. The comparison gives further insight into differences in styles of the three masters, which corresponds to the changes that had taken place to zheng music in Taiwan.

Chunjiang Huayueye

Chunjiang Huayueye belongs to a genre of Chinese music known as Silk and Bamboo (see, for example, Witzleben 1987), commonly played in the region around Nanjing and Shanghai. It was rearranged for zheng from a piece of music called *Xunyang Yeyue* [Moonlit Night in Xunyang] in 1925 in Shanghai (Li Minxiong 1983). Prior to that, it came from a *pipa* score entitled *Xiyang Xiaogu*, of which the earliest known record was found in a handwritten copy in Wuxi 无锡 in 1875. In *Nanbeipai Shisantao Daqu Pipa Xinpu* 南北派十三套大曲琵琶新谱 [New Scores for Thirteen Pipa

Pieces of the North and South Schools] published in 1895, it was renamed *Xunyang Pipa* [Pipa of Xunyang]. There, it was claimed that the composer lived in the Tang Dynasty. In *Yangzheng Xuanpu* 养正轩谱 [Scores by Yangzheng Xuan], published in 1924, it was renamed *Xiyang Xiaogu*. Even today, there are differences in arrangements in the versions played by different masters, a feature that is typical of most Chinese music. Chinese musicians often feel free to rearrange any piece to suit their own styles, and to modify the titles. The above development shows that changes in Chinese music were already common even before 1949. The motivation appears to be either to adapt the piece to another instrument, or to create new interpretations by rearrangement and title change. The known changes to *Chunjiang Huayueye* are summarised as follows:

Time	Title
Tang Dynasty	*Xiyang Xiaogu* 夕阳箫鼓 [Flute and Drums at Dusk]
1895	*Xunyang Pipa* 浔阳琵琶 [Pipa of Xunyang]
1924	*Xiyang Xiaogu* [Flute and Drums at Dusk]
1925	*Xunyang Yeyue* 浔阳夜月 [Moonlit Night in Xunyang]
1925	*Chunjiang Huayueye* 春江花月夜 [Flowers by the River at Moonlit Night in Spring]

The name *Chunjiang Huayueye* has remained until today. Although there are several versions, each typically has about ten sections, and each section has a descriptive title, which may differ from one version to another. Four versions of the section titles,

which correspond to the appearance of the piece in four different times, are listed as follows to illustrate changes in interpretations through the years:

1. *Xiyang Xiaogu* (1875): (a) First section, (b) Second section, (c) Third section, (d) Fourth section, (e) Fifth section, (f) Sixth section, (g) Epilogue.
2. *Xunyang Pipa* (1895): (a) Flute and drums at dusk, (b) Flowers flying in the wind, (c) Mountain under the moon, (d) Sunset by the waterside, (e) Wind in the maple trees, (f) Searching in the Wuxia 巫峡,[14] (g) Flute music in the red trees, (h) Night watch by the riverside, (i) Fishing boat at night, (j) Returning boat at sunset.
3. *Xiyang Xiaogu* (1924): (a) Breeze, (b) Moon, (c) Waterside, (d) Mountain climbing, (e) Shouting, (f) Night watch, (g) Returning boat.
4. *Chunjiang Huayueye* (1925): (a) Bell and drums from the tower by the river, (b) Moon rise over the east mountain, (c) Breeze over the water, (d) Shadows of flowers, (e) Water under the clouds, (f) Fishing boat at night, (g) Waves hitting the river bank, (h) Sound of paddling, (i) Returning boat, (j) Epilogue.

Notice that the "water" theme became increasingly developed. The last version is the version in common use today, and contains a vivid description of many of scenery associated with vast expanses of water. The evolution of these names is but a continual process that is taking place even today as modern zheng masters feel free to rearrange the piece to suit their personal styles and interpretations. For instance, Hon Seewah had left

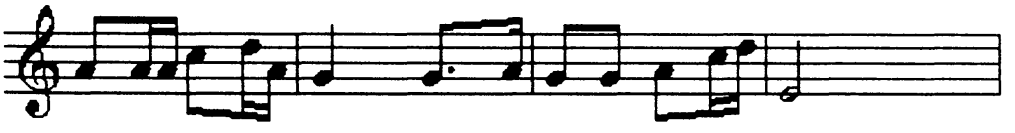
[14] Gorge of Wu, one of the famous Three Gorges (*Sanxia* 三峡) on the Yangtze River.

out two sections (Hon 1987)[15] because she felt that this would make it sound more coherent; Qiu Dacheng had the whole piece rearranged rather substantially by Xu Xiaolin into a Westernised duet.[16] Liang, who brought the notation (1979b) from the Mainland to Taiwan in the 1940s, made use of his free tempo style to give a unique rendition. In the following discussion of the melodic structure of each section, the 1925 notation is used. The interpretations by Li Minxiong (1983) are given first, followed by a comparison on the styles of rendition by the zheng masters.

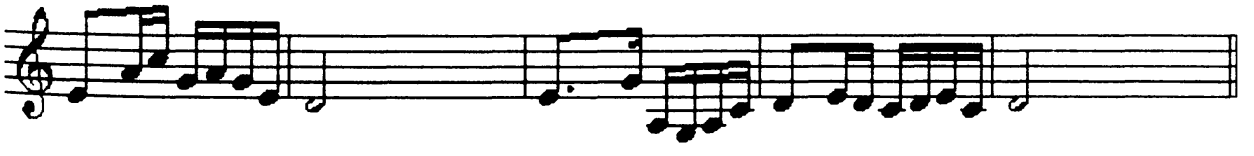
Musical Meaning

1. Bell and drums from the tower by the river: This section is meant to depict a beautiful scene in which the sun is just about to set, and there is sound of beating drums and flute playing from the far side of the river. Two melodic themes appear here:

(I)



(II)

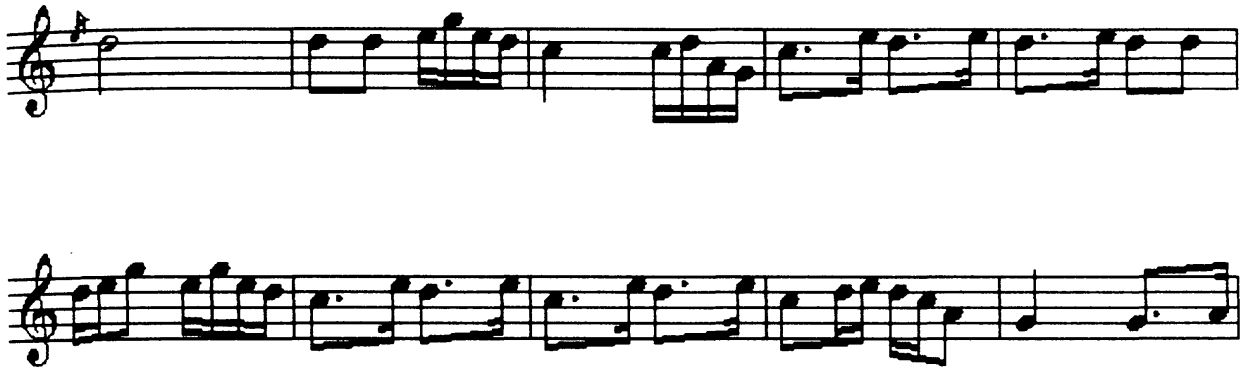


[15] Since her arrangement was published in Hong Kong when martial law was in force in Taiwan, I only managed to obtain a copy of this when I traveled to Hong Kong to learn under Hon Seewah herself in 1991. For me and for other Taiwanese zheng musicians, this copy of latest twenty-one stringed zheng music was of great value.

[16] I obtained a copy of this when I had to perform in in the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts.

These same themes are developed and varied repeatedly in subsequent sections, together with the appearance of new melodic themes.

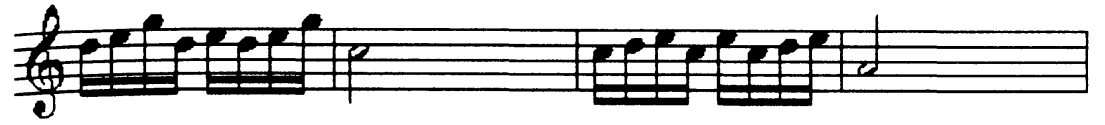
2. Moon rise over the east mountain: This portrays a scene in which the night has fallen, the river is clear and the moon is bright. The theme here is:



The higher pitch and the upward movement of parts of the melody may possibly create a feeling of the rising motion of the moon.

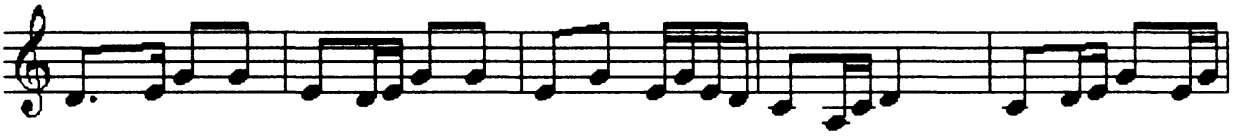
3. Breeze over the water: A picture of wind blowing over the river, creating ripples which runs over the water surface, is portrayed here. The pitch of the melody rises up and falls more frequently, increasing the sense of motion in the music.

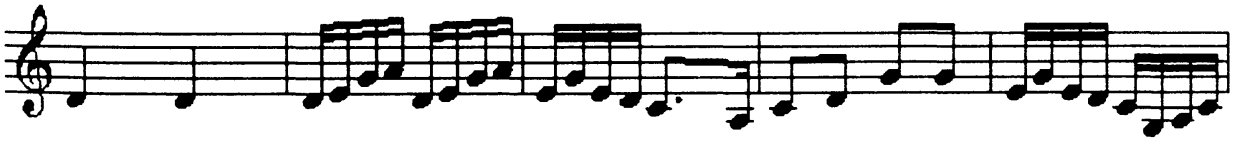
4. Shadows of flowers: This title describes a picture of wind blowing through the flowers, causing their overlapping shadows on the water surface to move about in confusion. The first few bars of the melody here are in slow tempo. This is followed by four fast tempo phrases, giving the appearance of a sudden gust of wind creating the random motion in the flowers:



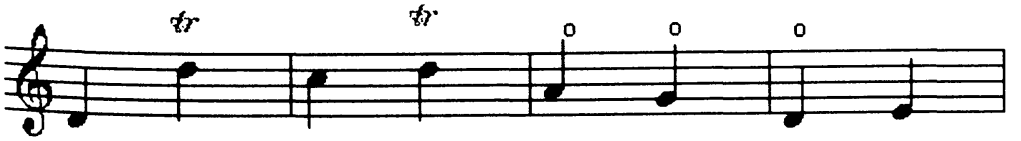
5. Water under the clouds: With the images of the clouds appearing in the water, the sky above the further reaches of the river appears as if it is partly immersed in the water. There are a series of notes of short time values in the first few phrases, followed by longer notes using tremolo *yaozhi*, *zhanyin* and *fanyin* 泛音 [harmonics]:

First Part:



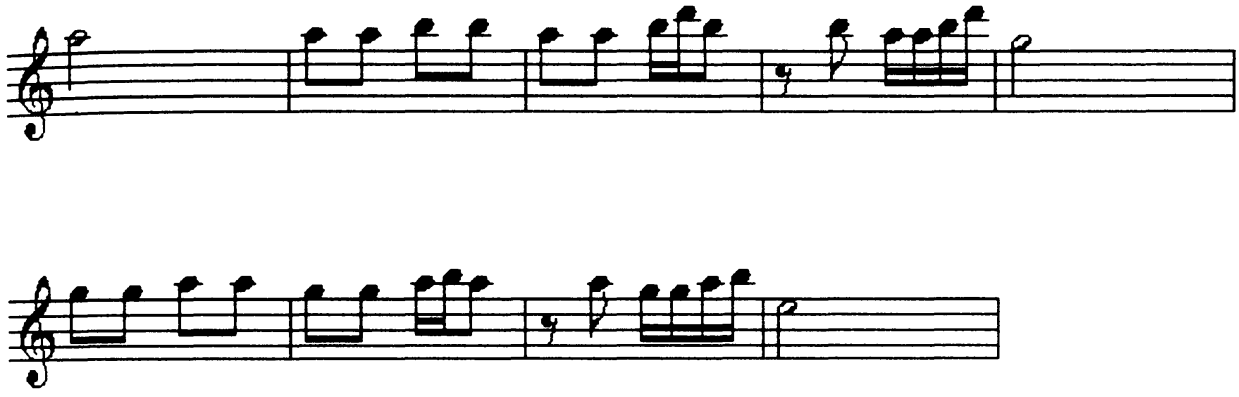


Second Part:



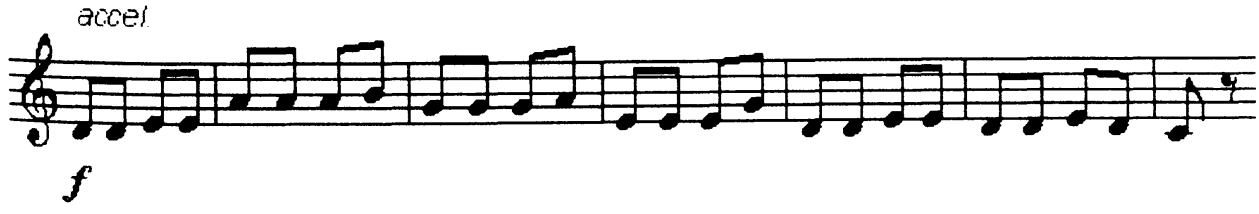
The contrast may serve to create the impression of a boundary between water and sky. The series of short notes moving up and down quickly in pitches in the first part creates the sensation of motion in the waves over the water. The longer notes in the second part are descriptive, perhaps, of the image of a vast, unchanging sky.

6. Fishing boat at night: With the approaching sound of singing, the fishermen are returning at night.



This melody is building up to the climax in the next section, with acceleration and crescendo. The liberal use of *si* (seventh) makes it sound different and stand out distinctly from melodies in other sections, creating the expectation of more to come.

7. Waves hitting the river bank: The tempo of the melody accelerates further, and the climax is still building up:



It depicts the fishing boat generating the waves that hit against the bank as it comes close to the mooring place.

8. Sound of paddling oars

9. Homecoming boat: This and the previous section picture the ripples by the river bank which are created by the gentle motion of the oars immersed in the water. The repeated use of glissandos on the zheng is intended to create images of one ripple after another. The pitch of the melody moves up and down more quickly to depict the motion of the waves. This is coupled with a crescendo. The music finally reaches its climax. This is also the fastest part of the whole piece.

10. Epilogue: The music slows down and softens towards the end. One may imagine that the sound of the returned boat fade into the night, and all is now peaceful and quiet once more.

Programmatic information such as the above can guide or hinder interpretation and may or may not reflect the composer's or later players' intentions or interpretations. But Li's interpretation is not unusual in character. As well as serving as an illustration of one person's interpretation, it may also be used as a reference by zheng musicians or students, who may follow it closely or develop their own varied interpretations.

I shall now do a comparative study on the performances of the three masters on this piece of music. The study is based on their recordings (in tape recordings and compact discs on sale in Hong Kong and Taiwan). Their original scores, which are in cipher notation, have been transcribed into staff notations by the author. This is attached in appendix C. Note that there are some differences between the recordings and the scores, a feature that is common in Chinese music, as Chinese musicians have a different

view of the rendition at different times. An inspection of the notations reveals that there are significant differences between the three masters' performances, in spite of the fact that they all originated from the same notation of 1925. One obvious difference, for instance, is that Qiu Dacheng had his rearranged by Xu Xiaolin into a duet for zheng and *pipa*. Another is the fact that Hon Seewah has left out two of the sections. A third is that the fingering techniques of Liang Tsaip'ing were adapted from the original *pipa* score (*Xiyang Xiaogu*), whereas Qiu and Hon had developed their own zheng *techniques* for the piece.

Liang's performance

In the opening section of *Chunjiang Huayueye*, the melody normally starts off with the three notes, 333..[17] Liang, however, replaced this with 323, where the last two note were played as a *huayin*, slowly gliding from 2 to 3. The original 333. was meant to simulate the sound of the beating a drum, in the spirit of the original name of the piece, "Flute and Drum at Dusk". The intention for replacing it with *huayin*, therefore, was not clear, but might give the feeling of a down and up motion of a boat.

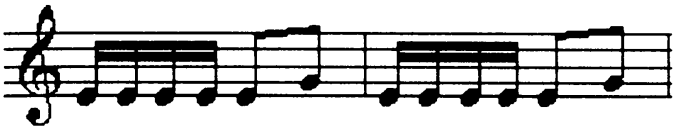
Liang also used *rouyin* in most of the rest of the piece. This involved a glide over a large interval, by as much as a major third, and was repeated for a relatively long time, possibly as long as three seconds, which is very long for an almost atonal ornament in Chinese music. He made it sound almost like the *yin* 𠀧 in *qin* music.[18] The *rouyin* of

[17] In this paragraph of the discussion, cipher notation will be used for convenience. The numbers 1 to 7 mean tonic to seventh on the diatonic scale. Every additional line under a note means a further half of the time value, and a dot after the note extends that time value by half.

[18] *Yin*, the word to describe the sound produced by a portamento in *qin*, is played by pressing the string of the *qin* against the wood and sliding the finger left and right over a suitable length of the string. It is different from *yinyin* in zheng, which means vibrato.

Liang may, for instance, be interpreted as giving the feeling of large volumes of water or wind flowing. The sound of Liang's *rouyin* was always loud and strong because of use of steel strings.

As mentioned earlier, Liang performed with an almost free tempo. For instance, the passage



occurred in almost every section of the piece. Every time Liang reached here, he would pause, the length of which is apparently determined by himself and not by the tempo. Then he would play the passage and accentuate every one of the notes, applying *rou* to all of them. It caused a complete delay in the tempo. If I were teaching my student in Taiwan in the early periods, I might use my own imagination, as would most other zheng teachers, to explain that the repeated set of notes suggested the action of oars paddling. Today, such freedom of tempo is seldom tolerated in zheng music.

Another notable feature of Liang's performance of the piece was his very liberal use of *yinyin*. Because *yinyin* could only cause the pitch to oscillate above the note itself, the average pitch during a *yinyin* is always slightly higher than the original note.[19] Extensive use of this technique led to unsteady melody. Could this be Liang's way of portraying a boat floating unsteadily?

Liang used *lunzhi* 轮指 [continual flicking of fingers] technique on the zheng to simulate *pipa*. This technique was played by flicking five fingers, starting with the little finger, outward repeatedly over a string to create a tremolo, which was fast but weak on

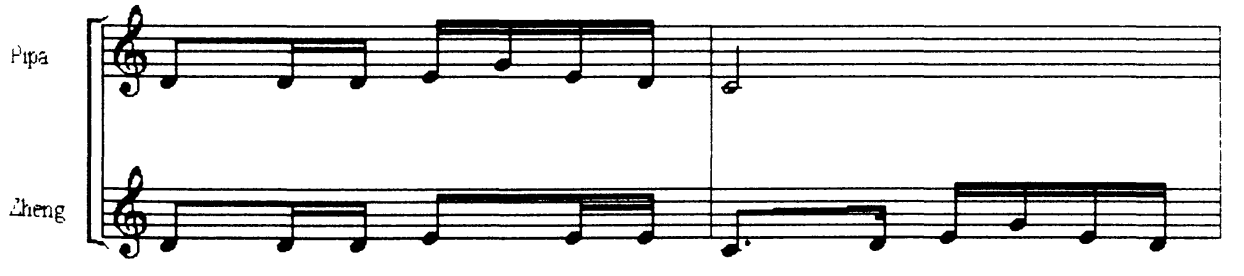
[19] See Appendix B.

the zheng. Qiu would use either three or four fingers for *lunzhi*. However, he flicked his fingers inward instead out outward. Whereas Liang would apply *lunzhi* mainly to lower notes, Qiu could apply it to any notes. In place of this, Hon would use only *yaozhi*. Also, it is worth noting that Liang often used glissandos, a technique widely used in the modern zheng music whenever there was a water theme, and as such possibly one of the most effective means of conjuring up the image of flowing water in zheng music.

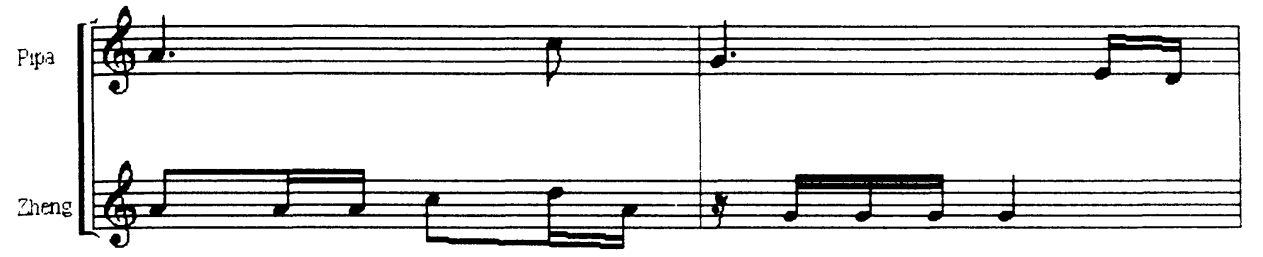
Qiu's performance

When Xu rearranged *Chunjiang Huayueye* into a duet for *pipa* and zheng, she used a lot of harmony. In this duet, sometimes *pipa* played the melody and zheng accompanied by playing chords, and vice versa. Sometimes they played different melodies at the same time, and sometimes the same melody at slightly different times, but overlapping, as if two voices were talking to each other. Examples of these features, not common in the largely monophonic regional zheng schools and in the early modern period in Taiwan, are given as follows.

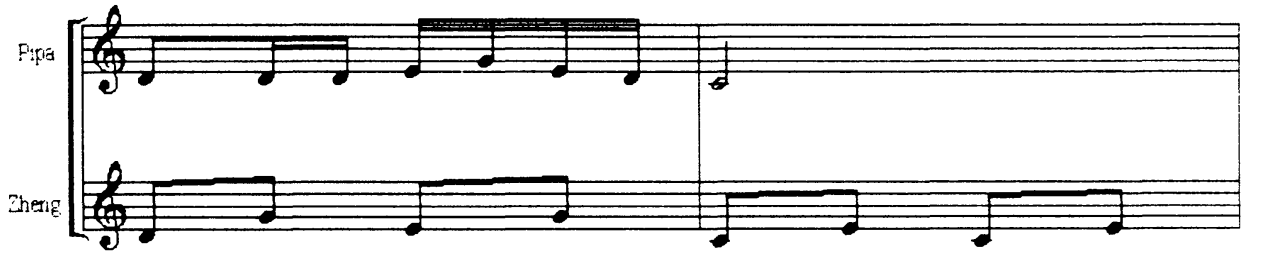
(1) "Echo" in first section:



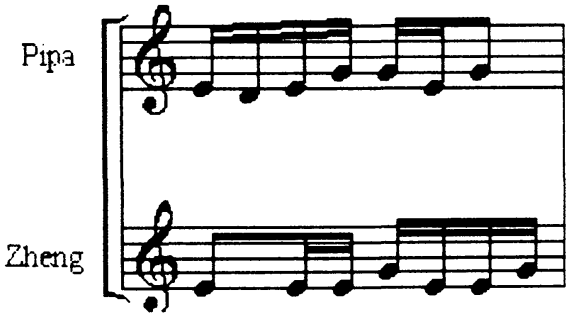
(2) Lyrical background of *pipa*. *Pipa* used *lunzhi* here for accompaniment, while *zheng* played the melody:



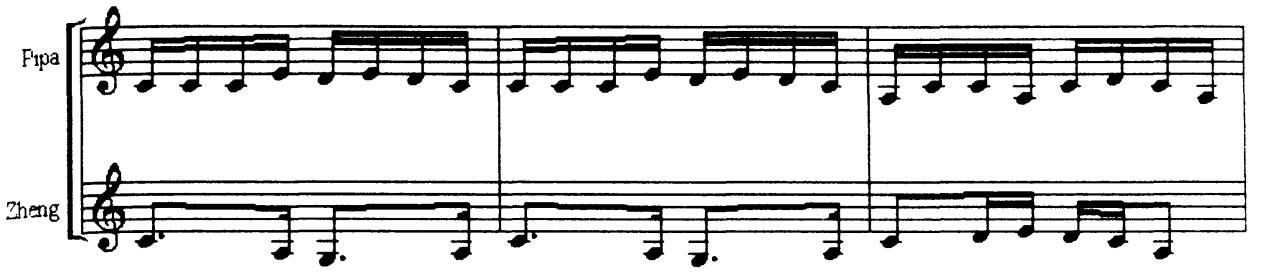
(3) Waltz-like accompaniment. General mood was slow, almost sleepy, but beautiful, to give feeling of slowly flowing water or the movement of the boat:



(4) Later section. Zheng accompanied pipa with its *huayin*. The 53 and 35 for the zheng are each played on only one string using *huayin*, and gives the feeling that the zheng is helping out the *pipa* because the latter has no time to play *huayin*:



(5) Two melodies progressing simultaneously:



Zheng was repetitive at the beginning of the piece, as if supplying some harmony for accompaniment. It got more interesting as its melody line appeared and grew stronger. *Pipa* remained soft, as if fading into the background as accompaniment. Two voices were already apparent at the beginning where, in addition to the traditional series of 333 groups of notes played by the *pipa*, the zheng interposed in between every group with a 3, one octave lower, making its presence felt, and soon broke into a glissando. To zheng musicians who were used to other more "traditional" versions of *Chunjiang Huayueye*, Qiu's rendition might sound unique and Westernised. The voices were arranged to give a song-like feeling. For example, when the zheng plays the melody, the *pipa* would accompany with *lunzhi*. When the *pipa* played the melody, the zheng would play the harmonising chords rhythmically, making it sound almost like a waltz. Compared with Liang's rendition, Qiu's performance sounded mellower, less shrill, and a little slurred, possibly due to the way he plucked the strings. There is liberal use of glissandos to conjure up images of flowing water, and the way that Qiu executed this technique was obviously different from Hon's style. Whereas Hon stroked with the skin of her left-hand index finger nail, which tended to slur the notes in the glissando, Qiu sometimes wore nails on the left hand so that every note was clear. On the whole, Qiu's rendition sounded Westernised, but managed to retain some traditional character, mainly

because of the use of Chinese melodies and zheng and *pipa* techniques.

Hon's performance

Hon's rendition was distinct from Liang's and Qiu's. The most obvious feature in her style was that she played very clear notes. Except for *huayin* and glissandos, each note was clearly separated from the previous note. This was likely to be related to her right hand posture and the angle, strength and shape of her artificial nails plucking the strings. Even in *yaozhi*, for which many zheng musicians tend to slur over the continuous series of repeating notes, each stroke of Hon's produced a note which stood out distinctively from adjacent note, like "pearls falling on the jade plate". Ornamentation such as *huayin* and *rouyin* in Liang's rendition, and harmony and *pipa* accompaniment in Qiu's rendition, tended to cause some distraction from the melody. In Hon's rendition, the melody was always clear and distinct from any harmony or ornamentation. Hon seemed to control the use of all her ornaments, such as *huayin*, *zhanyin* and glissandos, very carefully in her performance of *Chunjiang Huayueye*. They were used much less liberally compared with Liang and Qiu, as if calculated to achieve the best effect in enhancing the melody. When I studied under Hon, she often stressed simplicity in her performance. Her arrangement of *Chunjiang Huayueye*, was like Liang's, in the sense that there was little harmony. There were differences such as tonal range and fingering techniques, as Hon's zheng was twenty-one stringed but Liang's was sixteen-stringed. Unlike Liang, Hon replaced all the *lunzhi* in the original *pipa* piece by *yaozhi*. This meant that these parts no longer sounded like *pipa*, as in Liang's case. The difference was that while both played the tremolo, *yaozhi* was slower than *lunzhi*, but each note was

much louder, so that the timbre of the zheng was expressed clearly. Also different from Liang and Qiu was the use of *fanyin* (harmonics) by Hon in certain parts of the music.

In this chapter, by comparing and contrasting the musical styles and fingering techniques of Liang with those of Hon and Qiu, I have essentially given an account of the change from traditional to modern twenty-one stringed zheng music. Twenty-one stringed music is marked by subtle differences in techniques, such as arm and hand postures, and directions of plucking. These allow the faster renditions and greater expressiveness demanded by increased complexity of scores, particularly with the addition of harmony. Today, the younger generations of zheng musicians in Taiwan and Singapore use similar repertory, styles and techniques to Hon and Qiu, although they may still retain some of the styles and techniques similar to Liang's. Older generations may find it difficult to change. In Taiwan, some still keep much of Liang's repertory. On the whole, the transition from the traditional to the modern zheng music proceeded quickly with the increased contact with the Mainland.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Common Origin

Chapters 3 and 4 suggest that the need for a sense of ethnic identity is the main motivation behind development of zheng music in Taiwan and Singapore. This motivating force can help explain a number of issues raised by the aims of this thesis. Mass migration through the nineteenth and twentieth century brought large numbers of Chinese from the Mainland to settle down in Taiwan and Singapore. The migrant population continued to feel a sense of belonging to the Chinese people on the Mainland. This was a feeling that came spontaneously and involuntarily, as a result of growing up on the Mainland, or kinship with parents or grandparents who did. In order to maintain this sense of belonging, they carried out cultural activities that would remind them and their children constantly of the Mainland.

In the early years in Singapore, for instance, fund raising was one such activity. In later years, zheng music was another. Zheng music helped to generate and strengthen this sense of belonging, which we called ethnic identity. Such activities also required frequent interaction with the Mainland, which is an important feature of being part of the same ethnic group. In recent decades, such interaction was increasingly facilitated by advances in electronic media technologies, through which information could be communicated without the need for immediate human agent, though direct human contact has also been facilitated by advances in air travel. This interaction with the Mainland

formed an ethnic link, and contributed to strengthening the Chinese identity in Singapore and Taiwan. However, the rise of nationalism in these two countries competed for the loyalty of the Chinese people there. Governments were formed to create new national cultures that promoted allegiance. Chinese people there spent part of their time performing their duties as citizens of the nations, and part of their time taking part in cultural activities as members of the Chinese ethnic group. Conflict could arise, as in the practice of Mainland zheng music during the martial law period in Taiwan. Thus, nationalism inevitably had an impact on ethnicity. This could take the form of government control of certain cultural activities, or control of the ethnic link with the Mainland. Such controls inevitably influenced the development of zheng music.

Re-establishing Links

Practices that reminded the people of their Chinese ethnicity were tolerated as long as they did not affect loyalty to the state. If any such practices were thought to be a threat to this loyalty, the state would take steps to stop them. In Taiwan for instance, the Nationalist government from 1949 to 1987 considered any practice related to the Mainland Communist government to threaten the loyalty of the Taiwanese people. Such practices included not only communist activities, but also the twenty-one stringed zheng music which was invented under the communist regime. In order to prevent such practices, the Taiwanese government banned all forms of communications with the Mainland for nearly four decades. The need for a sense of ethnic identity within Taiwan has resulted in the development of its own distinctive style of zheng music by zheng musicians like Liang Tsaip'ing. This same need has continually motivated efforts to re-

establish links with the Mainland. By 1980, these links started to recover with the help of electronic media. Tape recordings brought the sound of the modern zheng music from the Mainland to Taiwan. With some help from notations and some help from zheng musicians from Malaysia and Singapore, the twenty-one stringed zheng music was able to develop in Taiwan well before the ban on communication with the Mainland was lifted.

In Singapore, the government banned communism after independence in 1965, but tolerated communications and travels to the Mainland. Interactions with the Mainland declined between 1966 and 1976 because of the Cultural Revolution. Even so, some zheng musicians in Singapore learnt about the modern zheng music through tape recordings and tried to devise their own techniques to play it. As soon as the Cultural Revolution was over, links with the Mainland were re-established, and the modern zheng music was able to develop quickly. Whereas communication with the Mainland was banned in Taiwan for nearly four decades from 1949 to 1987, it was only disrupted for ten years in Singapore during the Cultural Revolution period. As a result of the difference in government policy, the modern zheng music was able to develop in Singapore (and Malaysia) earlier than in Taiwan. This difference was particularly obvious from the fact that zheng musicians played a significant role in transmitting the modern zheng music from Malaysia and Singapore to Taiwan, and not the other way round. This shows a close correlation between nationalism and zheng music development.

Constructing Identity

This, essentially, sums up the main thrust of the objectives of this dissertation. The idea that a sense of ethnic identity constitutes a fundamental need has a number of implications.[1] It suggests, for instance, that knowledge of history plays a secondary role. History is necessary as a point of reference, to provide a place of origin. The actual details are less relevant. It does not matter whether the zheng was invented two thousand years ago or forty years ago, which was the case for the twenty-one stringed zheng music. What is important is that it provides a means of constructing ethnic identity. Such a view is similar to that of Hobsbawm (1983:1), who found that many "ancient" traditions were in fact invented quite recently. It also suggests that the apparent influence of modern economic organization on the way that zheng music activities are carried out in Taiwan and Singapore, for instance through monetary transactions, is largely a manifestation of the need for a sense of ethnic identity. Thus, zheng music activities take place because of this need, which is the cause, and not because zheng musicians want to make a living, which is the effect.[2]

However, such a conclusion does raise some problems. Appadurai has pointed out that the concept of primordialism cannot explain the scale of violence of ethnic conflicts around the world today. The primordial concept essentially says that

[1] This view also agrees with the recognition in social psychology that the individual need for "belonging and connectedness" is a fundamental need (Smith and Mackie 2000:17). The increase in ethnic conflicts around the world in recent decades (Cornell and Hartmann 1998:1-3) also suggests that that ethnic identity is stronger than other forms of group identities.

[2] For further discussion on the importance of economics to society as propounded by Marx, and the theory on the fundamental nature of culture by Simmel, see Swingewood (1998:23).

> all group sentiments that involve a strong sense of group identity, of we-ness, draw on those attachments that bind small, intimate collectivities, usually those based on kinship or its extensions. Ideas of collective identity based on shared claims to blood, soil or language draw their affective force from the sentiments that bind small groups. (1996:140)

This is very similar in nature to ethnic identity, which seems to be stronger than other forms of identity. This issue is of relevance in view of the potential for war between Taiwan and the Mainland. If ethnic identity is so strong, and the Taiwanese people feel such a strong sense of belonging to the Mainland, why does the potential for conflict remain? A possible explanation may be found in the complex nature of identities today. The need to share loyalty between ethnic and national identities is a potential source of this conflict. The Chinese in Singapore and Taiwan may also be viewed as cultural subgroups of the larger Chinese ethnic group, and tensions arising from differences are inevitable. In other words, primordialism would contribute to social bonds arising from a sense of ethnic identity, but this identity is not the only one that exists, nor is it unchanging.[3]

Reconstructing Identity

There is a significant proportion of the population in Taiwan and Singapore that is interested in listening to and learning zheng music. This, and the fact that zheng music has continued to be practised over the past few decades, shows the importance of ethnicity and nationalism in relation to zheng music. However, this proportion of the

[3] This type of identity has been called postmodern identity. For a further discussion on this, see Hall (1992b:275).

population is likely to be quite small compared to the total population. Zheng musical activities are generally less common compared to Western musical activities. Does this mean that only a small part of the population, including of course those who practise other forms of Chinese cultural activities, can be said to have a sense of Chinese identity? Given the increasing number of Chinese children in Singapore who speak English at home, and the increasing Westernisation that goes with this, it would appear that the Chinese identity in Singapore is getting weaker. In the larger part of the population, this identity may be in the form of vague memories of origin of their ancestors. The practice of zheng music provides a means of activating this identity.[4] The increase in popularity of zheng music in the 1990s in Singapore, stimulated by the influx of Mainland musicians, appears to support such a view.

The development of the twenty-one stringed zheng music in Taiwan and Singapore in the 1970s and 1980s under difficult conditions is explained in this thesis as being strongly motivated by ethnic identity, and has the effect of activating this identity in other part of the population where it lies dormant. This may be viewed as re-creating ethnic identity. If a sense of ethnic identity is a truly fundamental need, it could only have come to be so through the process of socialisation and cognition.[5] Socialisation takes place through sounds and images, such as direct observation of people nearby, and indirectly of people far away through the electronic media. There is no inherent reason why the need to identify with the Mainland cannot be completely replaced by an

[4] For further discussion on how "Activated knowledge about a group membership" can foster group identity see Smith and Mackie (2000:211).

[5] According to Smith and Mackie (2000:15), "what is real for each of us is a construction of reality, shaped in part by cognitive processes (the way our minds work) and in part by social processes (input from others who are actually present or whose presence we imagine)".

equivalent need to identify with the West. Given the typical divergence in culture even within the same ethnic group, it is likely that this has already happened to a significant part of the population in both Singapore and Taiwan. The re-creation of a sense of ethnic identity through zheng music therefore has the effect of reactivating the vague memories of ancestry by producing sounds and images of these memories. The increase in popularity of zheng music seems to show that this has been successful to a large extent. Viewed in this light, the effort to overcome the difficulties in learning the fingering techniques of the modern zheng music during the transition periods was part of this re-creating of ethnic identity in Taiwan and Singapore.

Economic Differentiation

Economics is an issue that has not been discussed in much detail in this thesis. It is mentioned as providing the framework or rules whereby zheng musical activities, such as performance and teaching, are conducted. Even if culture may be more fundamental than economics, the highly differentiated nature of the modern economy in Taiwan and Singapore does influence the way that zheng music activities are carried out. In section 3.5, for instance, the resulting need for time allocation between different aspects of life in Taiwan has been discussed. Modern education prepares the population for a large variety of specialised professions, and only a small proportion would grow up to become zheng musicians. A larger proportion would probably form the audience who enjoy listening to zheng music. Even so, the modern economy presents zheng music as one of the many

choices of entertainment, and something the people have to time-share with their jobs.[6] Thus, although zheng music may be an involuntary manifestation of dormant or activated ethnic identity, for the individual it does depend on how much time and money he could afford to allocate to zheng music after work. If ethnic identity were so fundamental, it would have to be constructed regardless of the economic condition. Since zheng music is an essential part of a sense of Chinese ethnicity, it would eventually have to come into existence in a Chinese society, whether in Taiwan or Singapore, even if it did not exist in these countries in the early years. Many ethnic groups in the world, such as the Shona, Suya, Kaluli and Venda, may not be economically as advanced as Taiwanese or Singaporeans, but they are definitely no less musical. To this last point however, one may also argue that these societies are not economically as differentiated as in Taiwan or Singapore, so each individual is expected to have many roles, including as a musician.

As of the writing of this concluding chapter in the year 2003, the Internet website of the Singapore Chinese Orchestra presented a schedule of concerts for the whole year which includes the names of many famous Mainland Chinese musicians who will fly to Singapore to perform. Ten to twenty years ago, these were the same musicians whose names I had often seen on notations published by the Mainland and also heard fellow musicians talk about, and whose photos I have seen frequently on covers of cassette tape recordings of their performances. Today, it is possible to see them physically perform in Singapore with increasing frequency. While this could be a manifestation of a sense of

[6] Thus, Blacking's (1973:4) question as to "why apparently general musical abilities should be restricted to a chosen few in societies supposed to be culturally more advanced" may be a result of the highly differentiated nature of advanced economic systems.

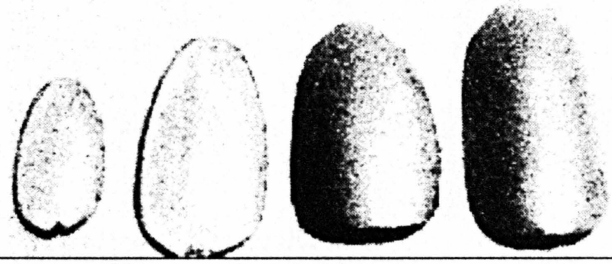
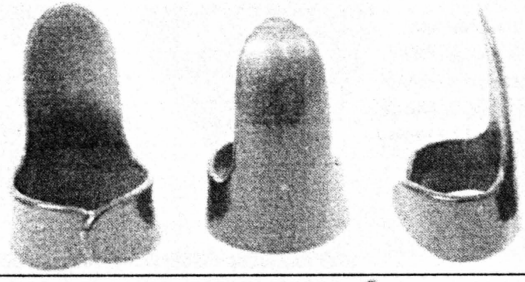
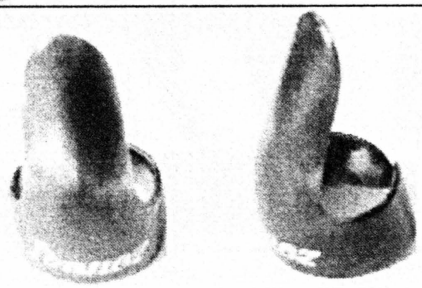
ethnic identity, it must also be facilitated by an affluent economy and air travel technology. Could the increased interaction with the Mainland slow down or reverse the trend of Westernisation in Taiwan and Singapore? Could the rise of the Mainland economy result in more non-Chinese beginning to get interested in zheng music? Only time will tell.

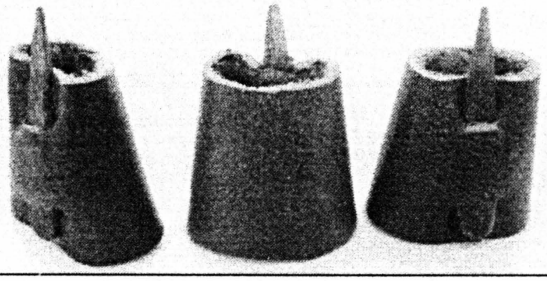
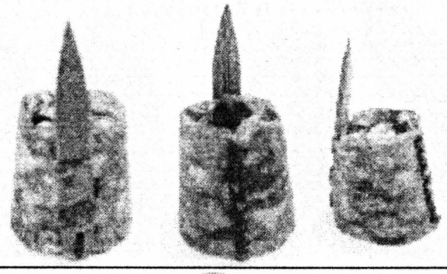
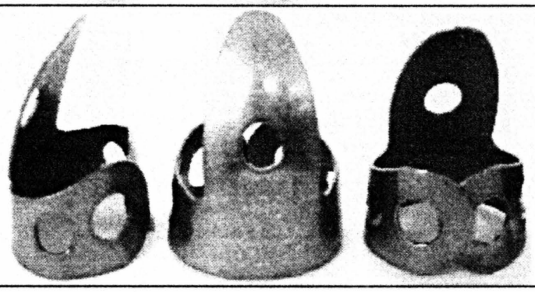
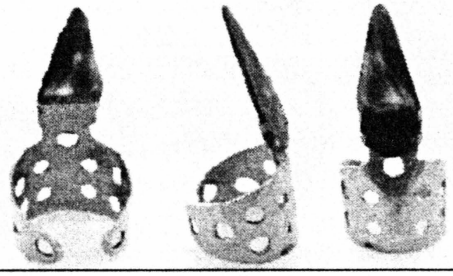
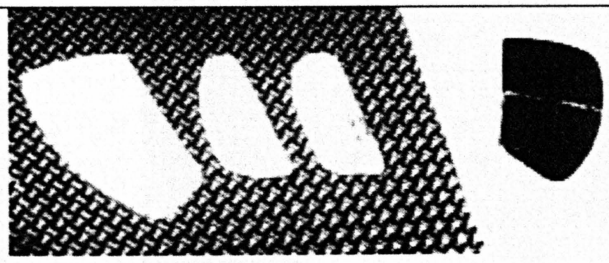
Appendix A

Artificial Nail

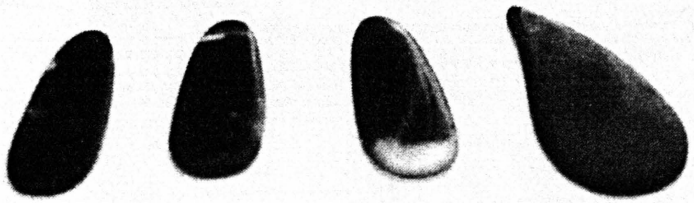
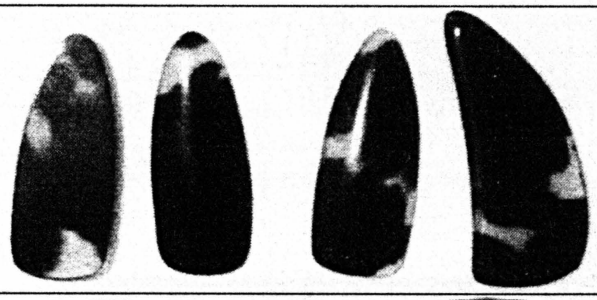
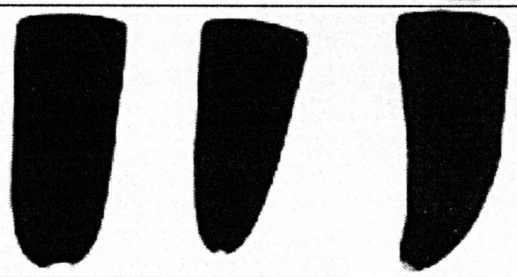
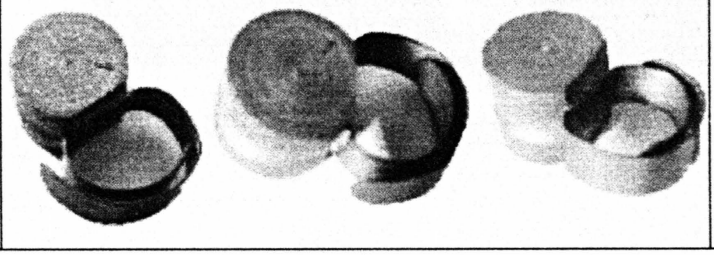
This appendix introduces the artificial nails used over the past few decades. It shows how old and new types of nails are mixed together.

These artificial nails and photographs were collected and taken from field work and presented here for reference. Some of them belong to the author. They show the personal styles of different zheng musicians, and were passed on to their students. All photos were taken by the author except photo 35.

Name	*Artificial nails*	*Remark*
(a) ***suliao jia*** 塑料甲		Plastic nails.Worn on top of the real nails.
(b) ***suliao jia*** 塑料甲		Plastic nails (Provided by Yang Ronghui).
(c) ***suliao jia*** 塑料甲		Plastic nails

(d) ***xiniujiao niupi taojia*** 犀牛角, 牛皮套甲		Artificial nails made from rhinoceros horn attached to the skin of yellow cow. (Provided by Chiang Hsiulan).
(e) ***shepi zhupian taojia*** 蛇皮竹片套甲		Snake skin bamboo piece. (Provided by Chiang Hsiulan 姜秀兰).
(f) ***buxiu- gang taojia*** 不锈钢套甲		Metal nails imported from the U.S.A. (Provided by Li Youyao 李有耀)
(g) ***daimei, buxiu-gang taojia*** 玳瑁不锈套甲		Artifical nails custom made by Li Youyao
(h) ***bopian*** 拨片		Guitar picks cut and worn on the thumb as artificial nails (see photo 32-4)
(i) ***bopian*** 拨片		Guitar picks cut and worn on the thumb as artificial nails, used by zheng musicians in Singapore (see photo 32).[1]

[1] The middle two were made from *bopian* by heating and bending.

(j) ***daimei jia*** 玳瑁甲		Made from the shell of *daimei* (Hawksbill turtle – *Eretmochelys imbricate*- see photo 35).
(k) ***daimei jia*** 玳瑁甲		First from left shows the back surface. (provided by Qiu Dacheng)
(l) ***daimei jia*** 玳瑁甲		Provided by Lian[2]
(m) ***tonghuan jie*** 铜环戒		Nails made from copper by Jiao Jinhai to simulate bird sound. (Provided by Wei Tei-Don)

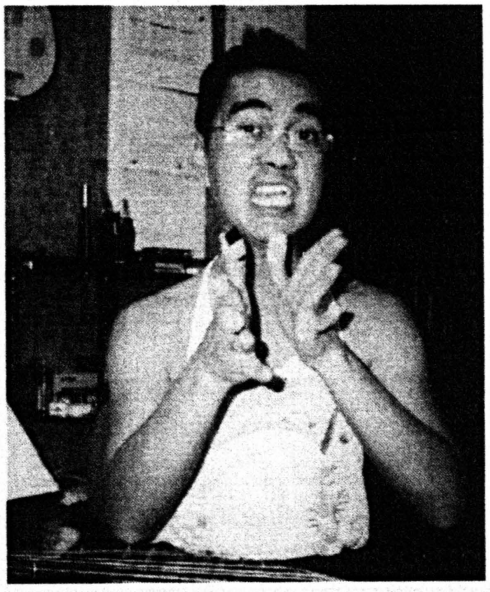


Photo 32. Guitar picks cut and worn on the thumb as artificial nails[3]

[2] Lian started using these nails after he learnt from He Baoquan in 1980s. (photo taken in 1997)

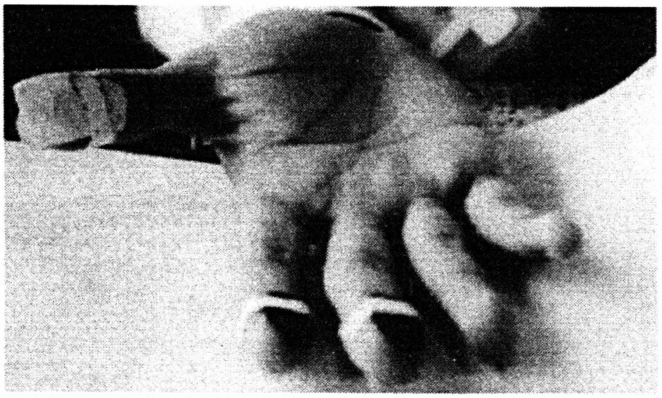


Photo 33. Wore a mixture of *bopian* and *daimei*.[4]

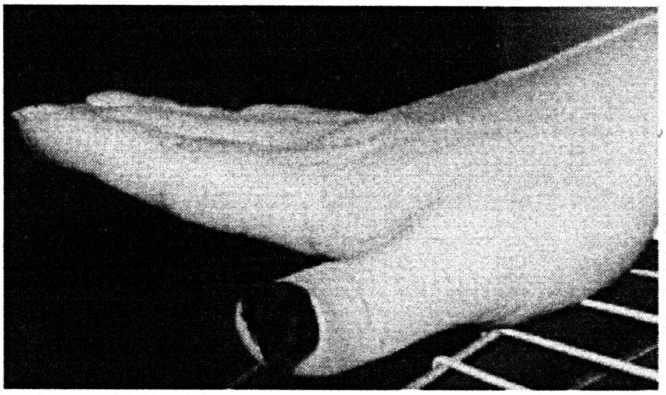


Photo 34. Artificial nails worn on the top of the real nails.[5]

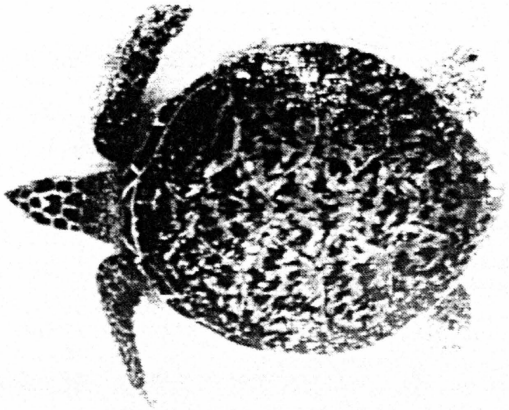


Photo 35. *Daimei*, or Hawksbill turtle (*Eretmochelys imbricate*), whose shell is widely used to make artificial nails.[6]

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[3] Chek Siew Meng explaining the importance of artificial nails, and how they affect the timbre of notes.
[4] The hand of Tan Chin Huat, a student of Chek Siew Meng. Photo taken in 1997 by the author).
[5] The hand of Liao Wenchang, who felt that real nails were definitely better than artificial nails, and that if artificial nails were needed, they should be worn on the same side of the real nails.
[6] (Obtained from a leaflet prepared by Prof. Cheng Yihchun of National Taiwan Ocean University 程一骏教授国立台湾海洋大学. The leaflet indicated that the photo was provided by Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage and Greenpeace.)

Appendix B

Tabulation of Fingering Techniques

This appendix provides a tabulation of many of the fingering techniques. Table 1 contains the techniques used in the various zheng schools. Table 2 contains those of Liang Tsaip'ing, Hon Seewah and Qiu Dacheng.

Table 1

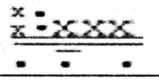
This is translated from the corresponding tables in Huang Haoyin (1997:182,184) The objective is to provide the explanations for the numerous techniques that are mentioned in the thesis. It also serves as a useful comparison for the styles of the zheng schools that are listed.

The following abbreviations are used:

S	Shandong zheng school
H	Henan zheng school
C	Chaozhou zheng school
K	Kejia zheng school

Under the zheng schools columns to the right, a circle **o** indicates that the technique explained on the same row is used for that particular school, whereas a blank box means that it is not.

R-hand technique	*Explanation*	*S*	*H*	*C*	*K*
tuo 托	Thumb plucks outward	o	o	o	o
pi 劈	Thumb plucks inward	o	o	o	
mo 抹	Index finger plucks inward	o	o	o	o
tiao 挑	Index finger plucks outward	o	o	o	
gou 勾	Middle finger plucks inward	o	o	o	o
ti 剔	(1) Middle finger plucks outward	o		o	
	(2) Thumb and middle fingers pluck outwards		o		
shuangtuo 双托	Thumb strokes outwards over two strings	o	o	o	
shuangbo 双擘	Thumb strokes inwards over two strings	o	o	o	
shuangmo 双抹	Index finger strokes inwards over two strings	o		o	
shuang tiao 双挑	Index finger strokes outwards over two strings		o	o	
cuo 撮 (also named ***kou*** 扣 in Shandong and Henan)	Thumb plucks outward and middle finger inward together	o	o	o	o
fancuo 反撮 (also called ***feizhi*** 飞指 in Chaozhou)	Apply *bo* and *ti* together on two strings	o		o	
xiaocuo 小撮	Apply *mo* and *tuo* together on two strings	o	o	o	o
sao 扫	Rapid, sweeping stroke over many strings	o	o		
yaozhi 摇指 (also called ***lunzhi*** 轮指 in Shandong)	Continuous plucking by shaking a right hand finger over a string (like tremolo)	o	o		
muzhiyao 拇指摇	Continuous plucking by shaking a right hand thumb over a string		o		
youyao 游摇	Moving the right hand from the movable bridge to the right while playing *yao*		o		

R-hand technique	*Explanation*	*S*	*H*	*C*	*K*
shayin 煞音	Stopped a note soon after it is plucked.			o	
badulun 八度轮	Rapid alternation of *gou* and *tuo*			o	o
sidian 四点	Rapid alternation of *gou, tuo, mo* and *tuo*			o	o
huazhi 花指	Stroke inwards or outwards over a few strings	o	o	o	
daoti Zhengda 倒踢正打	*Fancuo, gou, tuo, gou* e.g. 		o		

L- hand technique	*Explanation*	*S*	*H*	*C*	*K*
huayin 滑音	Press a string after right hand plucked it - causes the note to slide up or down by a second or third interval	o	o	o	
shang huayin 上滑音	Press a string after right hand plucked it - causes the note to slide up by a second or third interval	o	o	o	
xia huayin 下滑音	Press a string before right hand plucked it and then releasing it - causes the note to slide down by a second or third interval	o	o	o	
su huayin 速滑音	Press a string before right hand plucked it, release and press again - causing the note to slide down and up again		o		
shuang huayin 双滑音	After right hand plucked a string, press and release again - causing the note to slide up and down again		o		
anyin 按音	Modifies a note by pressing left of movable bridge	o	o	o	
rouyin 揉音	(1) After plucking with right hand, left hand presses hard on string a few times.		o	o	
	(2) After plucking with right hand, left hand presses gently on string a few times.			o	
shangrou 上揉	*Rouyin* with note sliding up and down a few times, over a second or third interval			o	
xiarou 下揉	*Rouyin* with note sliding down and up a few times, over a second or third interval			o	
fanyin 泛音	Harmonic. Left hand touches string at positions of simple fraction when string is plucked.	o	o	o	

L- hand technique	*Explanation*	*S*	*H*	*C*	*K*
huiyin 回音	(1) After plucking with right hand, left hand quickly presses on string once, then releases.		o	o	
	(2) After plucking with right hand, left hand quickly presses on string once, releases, then presses again.	o			
zhanyin 顫音	After plucking with right hand, left hand quickly presses on string gently and regularly, to give vibrato effect.	o	o	o	o
da zhanyin 大顫音 (same as ***rouyin*** 揉音)	Like *zhanyin*, with the string pressed harder.		o		
xiao zhanyin 小顫音	Like *zhanyin*, with the string pressed more gently and rapidly produces vibrato effect	o	o		
daxian 打弦	Left hand hits first string to left of movable bridge to simulate drum beat.		o	o	
dianyin 点音	Right hand plucks the string, and left hand quickly presses and releases the string, either at the same time, or just after plucking.	o		o	o
linxian tongyin 邻弦同音	Presses adjacent string to same note, then apply *tuo* or *bo* to both strings to get two notes.	o			
kong 空	Pluck without pressing with left hand.	o			
zou 走	During *rouyin*, right hand plucks continually, and left hand shifts to left hand end of zheng while pressing.	o			
anzhan 按顫	The second on the pentatonic scale is raised by a semitone.			o	
zhai 摘	Left middle or ring finger touches firmly on string to left of movable bridge, and string is plucked repeatedly with left index finger.			o	
an huayin 按滑音	After plucking, left hand presses string to vary pitch according to notes and tempo on score.				o

Table 2

This is a table of the fingering techniques of Liang, Hon and Qiu. It provides a comparison among the three masters. The abbreviations used are:

L – Liang; H – Hon; Q – Qiu.

They are extracted from these references:

Liang Tsaip'ing (1979a: 26-9); Hon Seehwa (1987:154-6)
Li Wanfen 李婉芬 (1999: 153,155); Xu (1994)

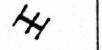
Symbol	*Explanation*	*L*	*H*	*Q*
tuo 托	Thumb plucks outward.			
pi 劈	Thumb plucks inward.			
mo 抹	Index finger plucks inward.			
tiao 挑	Index finger plucks outward.			
gou 勾	Middle finger plucks inward.			
ti 剔	Middle finger plucks outward.			
L/Q: ***da*** 打 H: no name	Ring finger plucks inward.			
zhai 摘	Ring finger plucks outward.			
no name	Use the flesh to pluck strings			
qie 切	Index finger strokes inwards over two strings, then the first string pressed to the same note as the second.			
liantuo 连托	Thumb strokes outwards over strings.			
lianmo 连抹	Index finger strokes inwards over strings.			
dayuan 打圓	Rapid alternation of *gou* and *tuo.*			
L: no name H/Q: ***xiaocuo*** 小撮	L: Apply *gou* and *mo* together on two strings. 1. Separated by one string. 2. Separated by two strings. H/Q: Likewise using *mo* and *tuo* together on two strings.	1. 2. 		
L: ***cuo*** 撮 H/Q: ***dacuo*** 大撮	Thumb plucks outward and middle finger inward together.			

Symbol	*Explanation*	*L*	*H*	*Q*
L: ***fancuo*** 反撮 Q: ***da fancuo*** 大反撮	Apply *bo* and *ti* together on two strings separated by one octave.			
xiao fancuo 小反撮	As the above but in reverse directions.			
ticuo 剔撮	Play *ti* and *tuo* together at the same time.			
picuo 劈撮	Play *gou* and *pi* together at the same time.			
fucuo 拂撮	Before play the *cuo*, stroking a few notes with the R-hand thumb.			
no name	Apply *tuo* and *dai* together on two strings separated by two octaves.			
H: ***saoxian*** 扫线 Q: ***sao*** 扫	H: Rapid, sweeping stroke over many strings. Q: Rapid, sweeping stroke inwards or outwards over many strings with one or more finger(s).			 or 
L: ***yaozhi*** 摇指 H: ***yaozhi*** 摇指/ ***lunzhi*** 轮指 Q: ***muzhi yao*** 拇指摇	Tremolo by continuously stroking the (artificial) nail on the right hand thumb over a string.	 or 		 or 
shizhiyao 食指摇	Tremolo by continuously stroking the (artificial) nail on the right hand index over a string.			
kou yao 扣摇	L-hand thumb and index holding one string on The R-hand side of the bridge with to and fro movement left and right while playing *yaozhi* on the same string.			
shuang yao 双摇	*Yaozhi* on two strings together with index and thumb on notes indicated on the score.			
hexian yao 和弦摇	Tremolo by continuously stroking the nail on the right hand thumb, index and middle fingers over strings.			
no name	Rapidly plucking two strings that may be separated by large inter-val sequentially, by *gou tuo* or *mo tuo*.			

Symbol	*Explanation*	*L*	*H*	*Q*
no name	Rapid alternation of *gou* (R), *mo* (L), *m o*(R) and *mo* (L).		R L	
li 历	Index finger strokes outwards over strings.			
L: ***duanfu*** 短拂 H: ***huazhi*** 花指 Q: ***huazou*** 划奏	L: 1. Stroke inwards over three or four strings. 2. Stroke outwards over three or four strings. H: Stroke from high to low note, can be over any number of strings. Q: Short stroke before or between note and stroke inwards or outward over three or four strings.	1. 2.		
fu 拂	1. ***changfu*** 长拂 Stroke inwards and outwards over many strings. 2. ***gunfu*** 滚拂 R-hand *mo* and *zhai* to stroke a few times inwards and outwards over a few strings. (usually to symbolise waterfall). 3.***huafu*** 滑拂 R-hand index and middle fingers apply *ti* and *tiao* stroke simultaneously inwards from low to high notes over many strings, with always one string in between the two fingers. 4.***fan huafu*** 反滑拂 Same, but stroke is outwards, from high to low notes.	1. or 2. 3. 4.		
no name	L-hand placed over a few strings and R-hand strokes. Immediately leave off the strings after plucking			
lun 仑:	L: 1. Right hand little to index fingers pluck outward, thumb plucks inwards, repeatedly. 2. Right hand index to little fingers pluck outward, thumb plucks inwards, repeatedly. means begin , means end. Q: 1. ***sanzhin lun*** 三指轮: Three fingers used: *gou, mo* and then *tuo* are played repeatedly. 2. ***sizhi lun*** 四指轮: Four fingers used: *zhai, gou, mo* and then *tuo* are played repeatedly.			1. 2.

Symbol	*Explanation*	*L*	*H*	*Q*
saotao sidian 扫套四点	Rapid alternation of *gou* (to do a *saoyin*), followe by *tuo*, *mo* and *tuo.*			or
saoyao sidian 扫摇四点	Rapid alternation of right hand *gou* (to do a *saoyin*), followed by *tuo*, *pi and tuo.*			or
L: ***rouyin*** 揉音 H/Q: 1. ***shang huayin*** 上滑音 2. ***xia huayin*** 下滑音	1. Press a string after R-hand plucked it - causes the note to slide up by a second or third interval. 2. Press a string before R-hand plucked it and then releasing it - causes the note to slide down by a second or third interval.	v or or	1. 2.	1. 2.
L: ***anyin*** 按音 H: no name Q: ***dingshi huayin*** 定时滑音	L/Q: From one note slide up to another. Only the first note is plucked, then the left hand presses the string so that the note slides to the second note. Each note has a definite time value. H: To slide downwards at the end of the note.			
L/Q: ***anyin*** 按音 H: no name	1. L/H/Q: Press a string before R-hand plucked it and then holding it - causes the note to slide up by a second interval. 2. L/H: 1 is obtained by pressing up the 6 note-R-hand thumb plucks only.	1. 2.	1. 3 2.	(3) O = 5
L: ***shuang rouyin*** 双揉音 Q: ***rouxian yin*** 揉弦音	L: After plucking with right hand, left hand presses hard on string two times. Q: After plucking with right hand, left hand presses hard on string several times.	w		
no name	1. pluck 3 and press to 5 and pluck 3 and 2. 2. Pluck 3 and press down and up and then pluck 2.		1. 3532 2. 3532	
L: ***dan qitan rouyin*** 单齐弹揉音 H: no name	L/H: 1. Pluck 2 and 3 at the same time and the 2 note immediately press up to 3. H: 2. *Pi* pluck three notes of 561, and 6 press up to 1.	3 23	1. 2 2.	

Symbol	*Explanation*	*L*	*H*	*Q*
H: no name Q: ***hui huayin*** 回滑音	Press a string before R-hand plucked it, release and press again - causing the note to slide down and up again. e.g. 4 = 5 · 45			
yinghe rouyin 应合揉音	L-hand press down on the adjacent with lower note(s), to raise it to the same note(s) as the original string(s).			
L: ***zhongyin*** 重吟 H/Q: ***zhong zhanyin*** 重颤音	Like *zhanyin*, with the string pressed harder.			
L: ***yin*** 吟 H: ***qing zhanyin*** 轻颤音 Q: ***zhanyin*** 颤音	Like *zhanyin*, with the string pressed more gently and rapidly.			
jiezou zhanyin 节奏颤音	L-hand presses on the string rhythmically- a type of *zhanyin*.			
yiyin 倚音	1. ***duan yiyin*** 短倚音 Appoggiatura by *mo* on ornament note before *tuo* on main note. 2. ***shuang yiyin*** 双倚音 Mordent by *mo* on one string, *tuo* on adjacent string, and *mo* on first string again.		1. 2.	
L: 1. ***zhong rouyin*** 重揉音 2. ***feirou*** 飞揉 H: ***dianyin*** 点音 Q: ***dianxian*** 点弦	L: 1. After plucking with right hand, left hand presses hard on string one time. 2. After plucking with right hand, left hand presses very quickly for a short time on string ne time. H: 1. Left, right hands contact with string at same time, with left hand leaving string immediately. 2. Same as above but very softly. Q: When right hand is playing, left hand presses hard and quickly, causing a rapid downward slide in the note.	1.  2. 	1.  2.	

Symbol	*Explanation*	*L*	*H*	*Q*
boyin 波音	L-hand pushes string horizontally.			
H: ***saoxian*** 扫弦 Q: ***sao*** 扫	H: stroke outwards with the middle finger over a few strings. Q: Stroke over a few strings quickly- can be inwards or outwards- with one or more fingers.			
H: ***guazou*** 刮奏 Q: ***huizou*** 划奏	H: 1. Strokes over the strings from high to low notes. 2. Stroke over the strings from low to high notes. Q: Stroke over the strings from high or low notes.		1.  2. 	 or 
lianxu guazou 连续刮奏	1. Both hands stroke over the strings either alternative from high to low or from low to high ranges. 2. Both hands stroke over the strings either alternative ranges.		1.  2. 	
guazou 刮奏	H: 1. Stroke over the strings from high to low notes on the left side of the moveable bridge. 2. Stroke over the strings from low to high notes on the left side of the moveable bridge.		1.  2. 	
L: ***sanzhi liantan fa*** 三指连弹法 H/Q: ***payin*** 琶音	Play appergio.			
fanyin 泛音	Harmonic. Left hand touches string at positions of simple fraction when string is plucked. L:  means begin , means end.	o	o	●

Symbol	*Explanation*	*L*	*H*	*Q*
no name	Play near the right-side of the bridge.		1. ※ 2. ※ ··· ※	
H: no name Q: ***zhuyin*** 柱音	H: L-hand thumb press on the top of the bridge, then L-hand middle and index presses on the string on the left-hand side of the moveable bridge to make vibrato effect. Q: L-hand thumb press on the top of the bridge.		⊕ ~~~~	⊕
ziyou fanfu 自由反复	Repeat freely.			⌐o o¬
no name	If this symbol is used, that means the whole phrase should be played using the same technique.			▭ or - - - - - -

Appendix C

Transcriptions of *Chunjiang Huayueye*

This appendix contains my transcription into staff notation of three versions of *Chuanjiang Huayueye* 春江花月夜 [Flowers by the River at Moonlit Night in Spring]. These are:

(1) Arrangement by Xu Xiaolin for Qiu Dacheng.[1]

(2) Arrangement by Hon Seewah (1987:1)

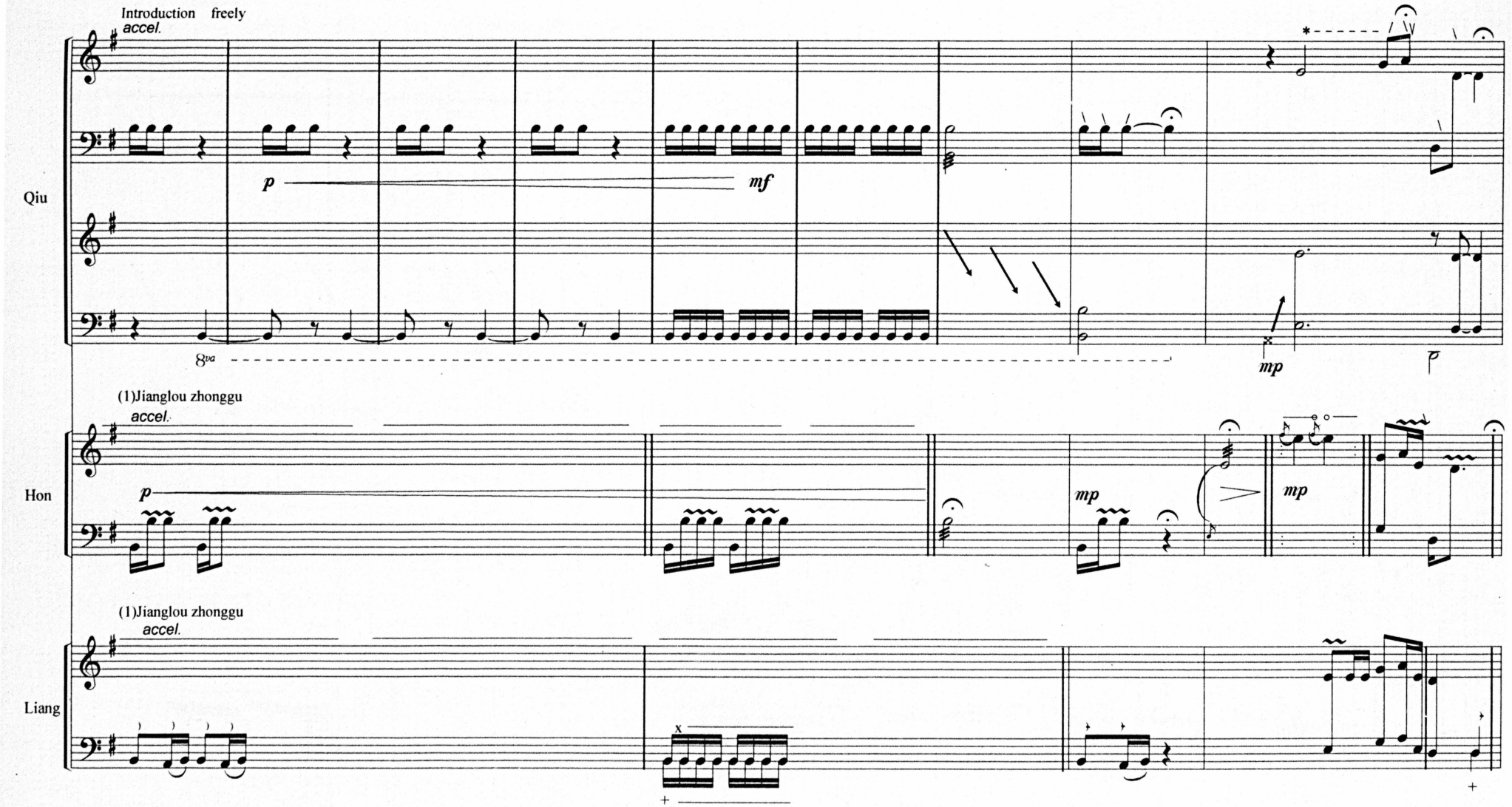
(3) Arrangement by Liang Tsaip'ing (1979b:53)

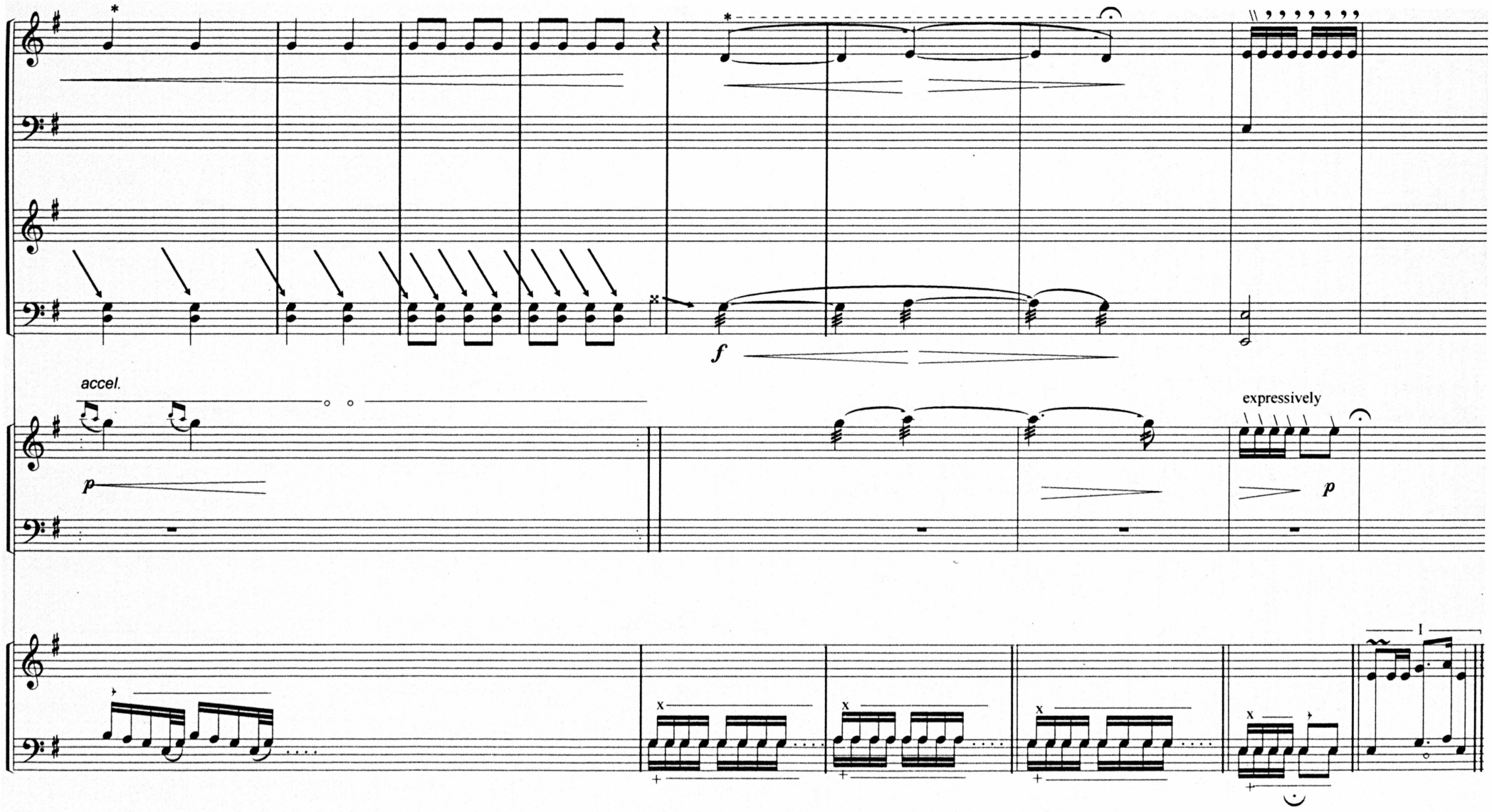
Each of the following pages contains all three versions arranged in the same order from top to bottom.

For ease of comparison, I have transposed all of them to the key of G. Liang's original notation, for instance, is in the key of C. As far as possible, I have also tried to match similar melodies or sections into corresponding bars. However, differences between the versions mean that some bars have to be left blank. Note that these blanks are not rests and should be skipped when reading each version.

[1] Notation was obtained from Qiu when I studied in Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts in 1991 – 1992.

Flowers by the River at Moonlit Night in Spring

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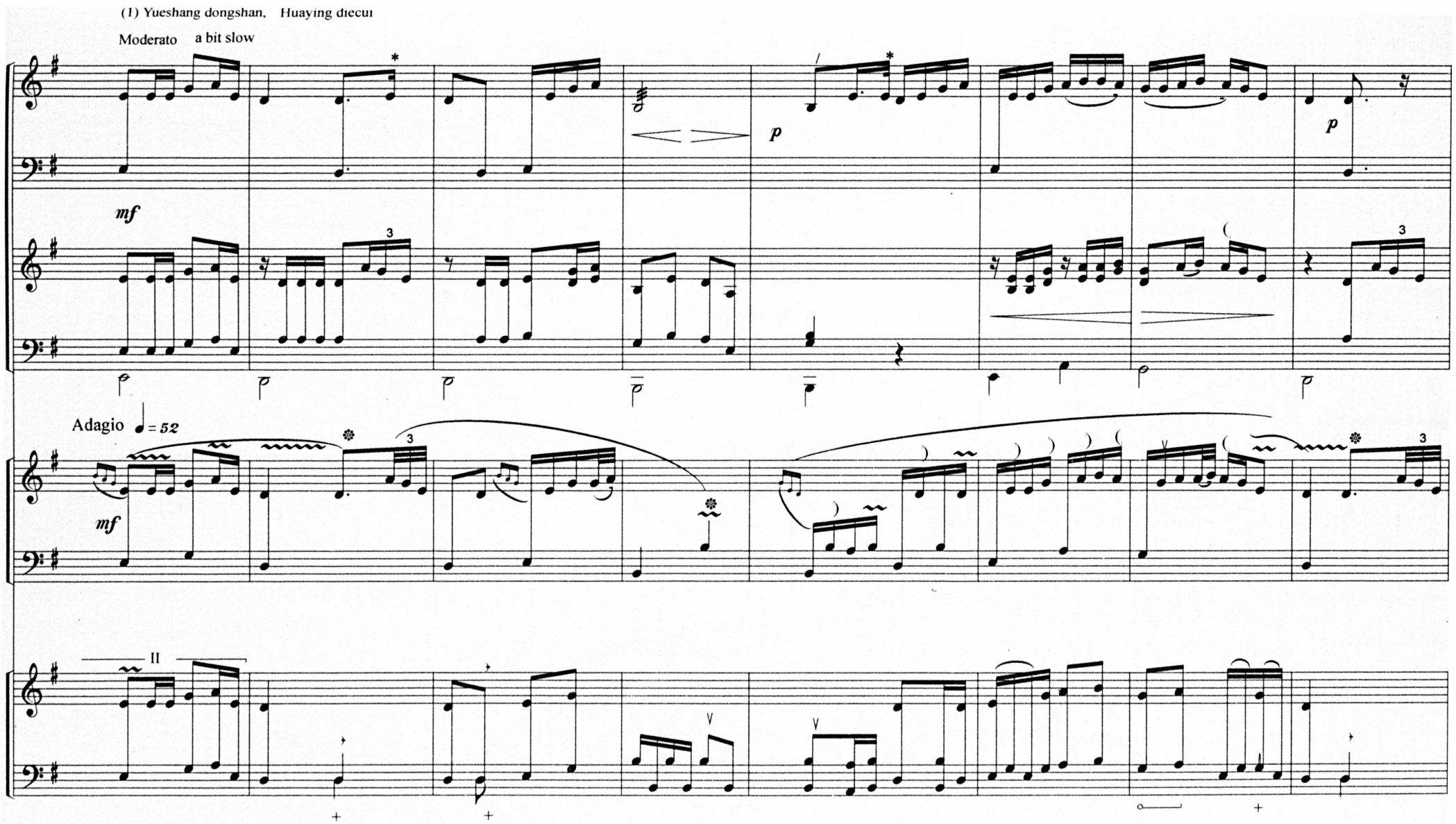
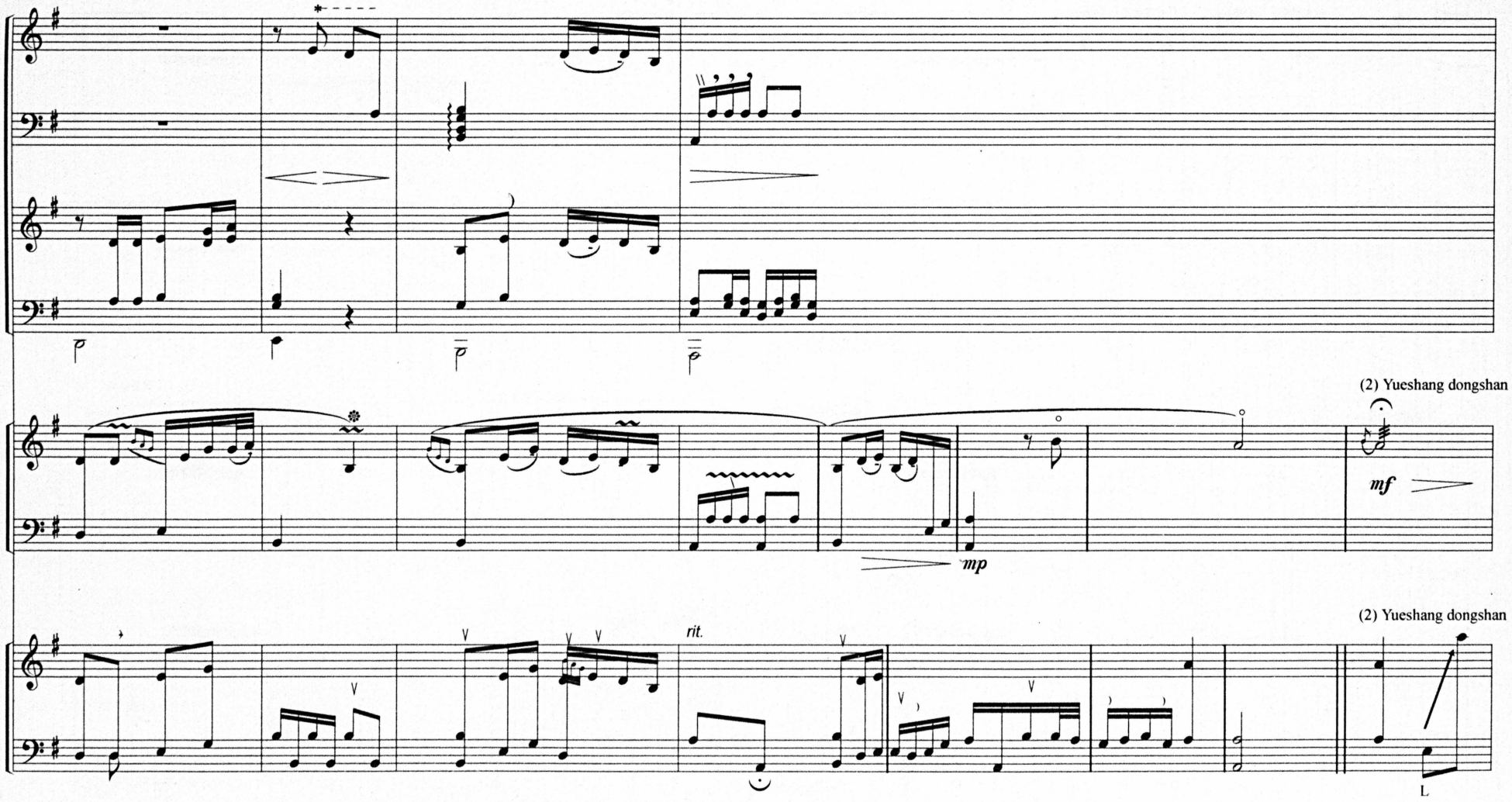
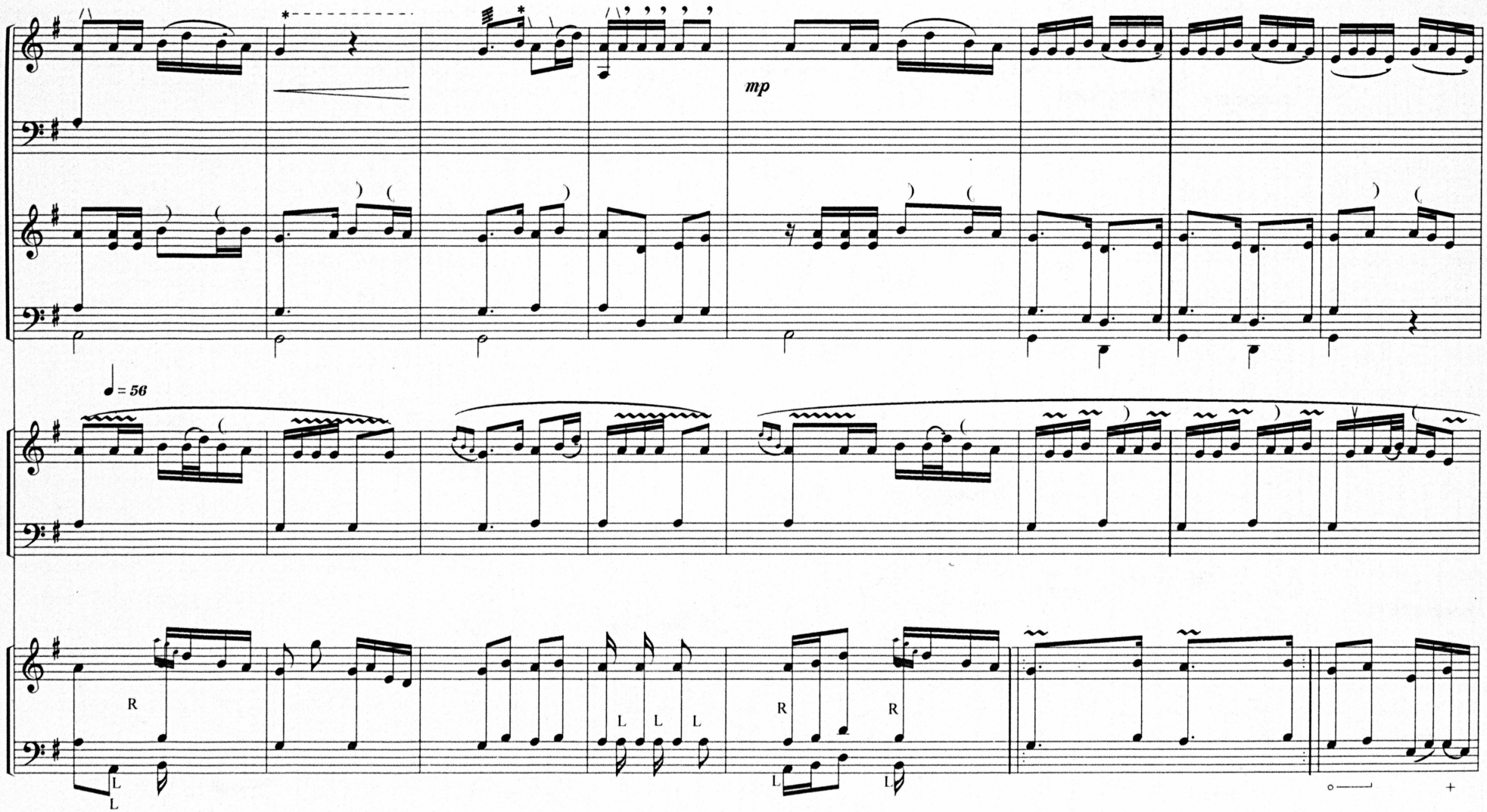
p
f
expressively
p

(1) Yueshang dongshan, Huaying diecui




(2) Yueshang dongshan
mf
mp
(2) Yueshang dongshan
rit.
L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L
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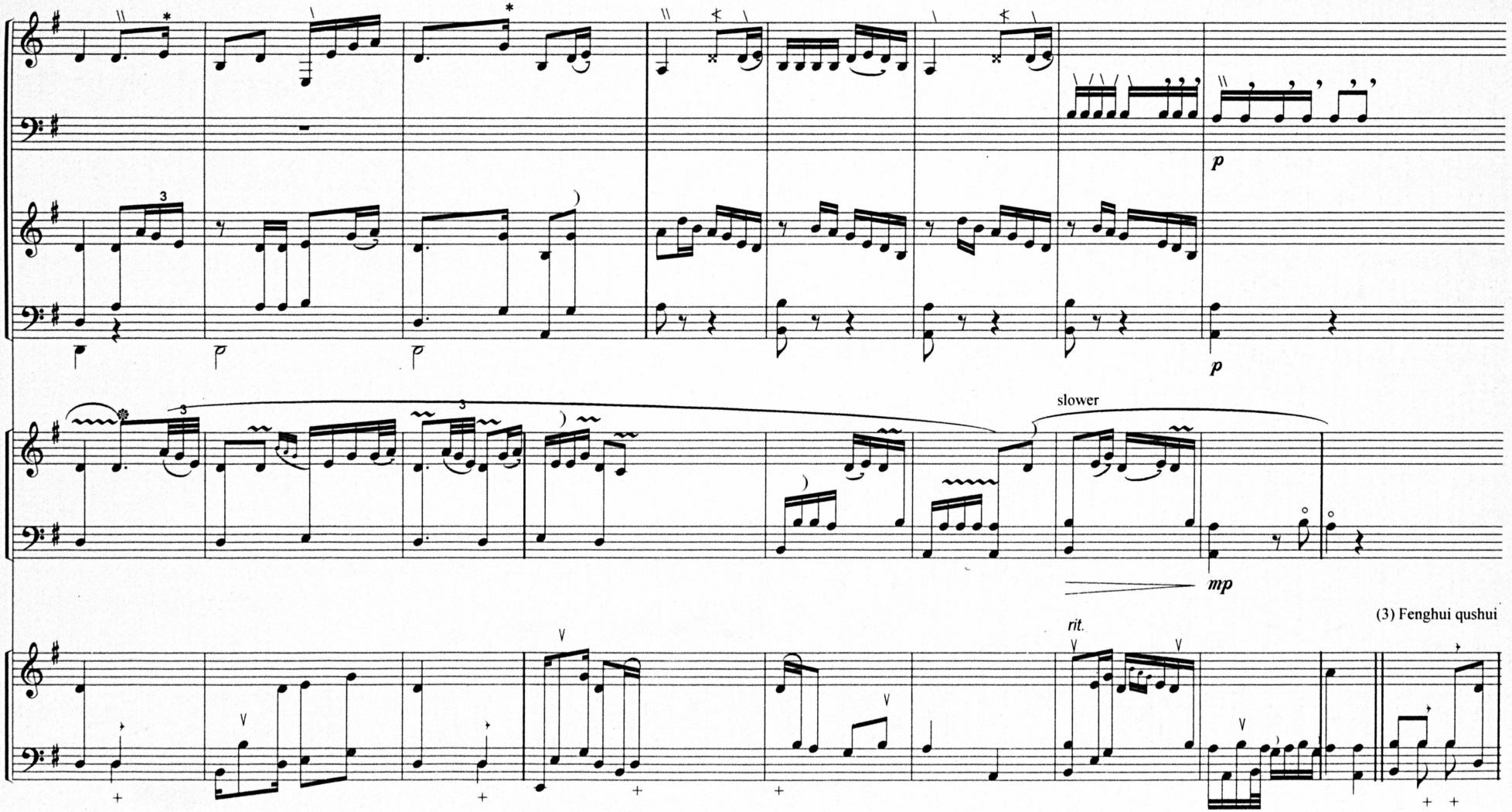
p
p
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slower
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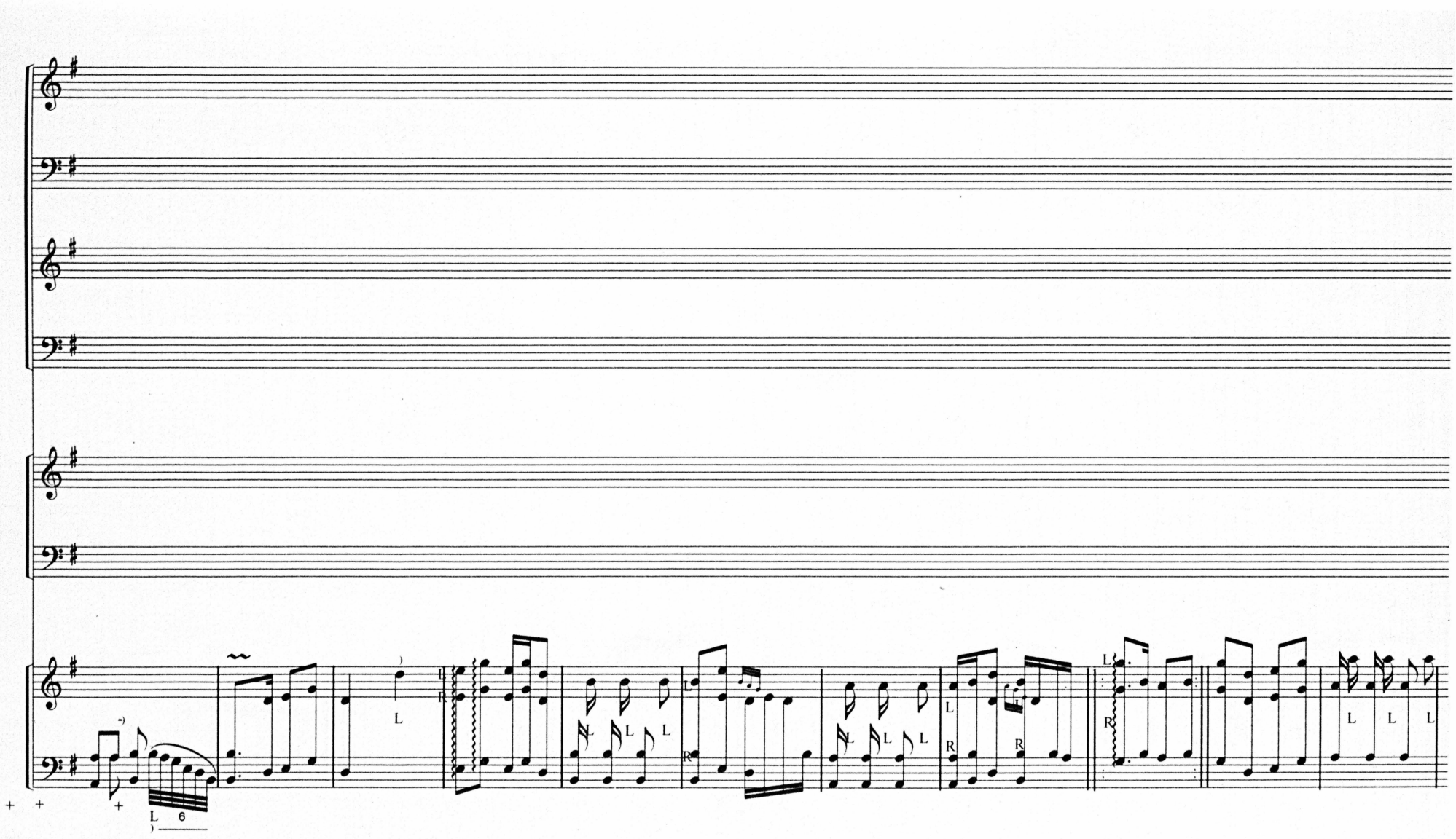
rit.
(3) Fenghui qushui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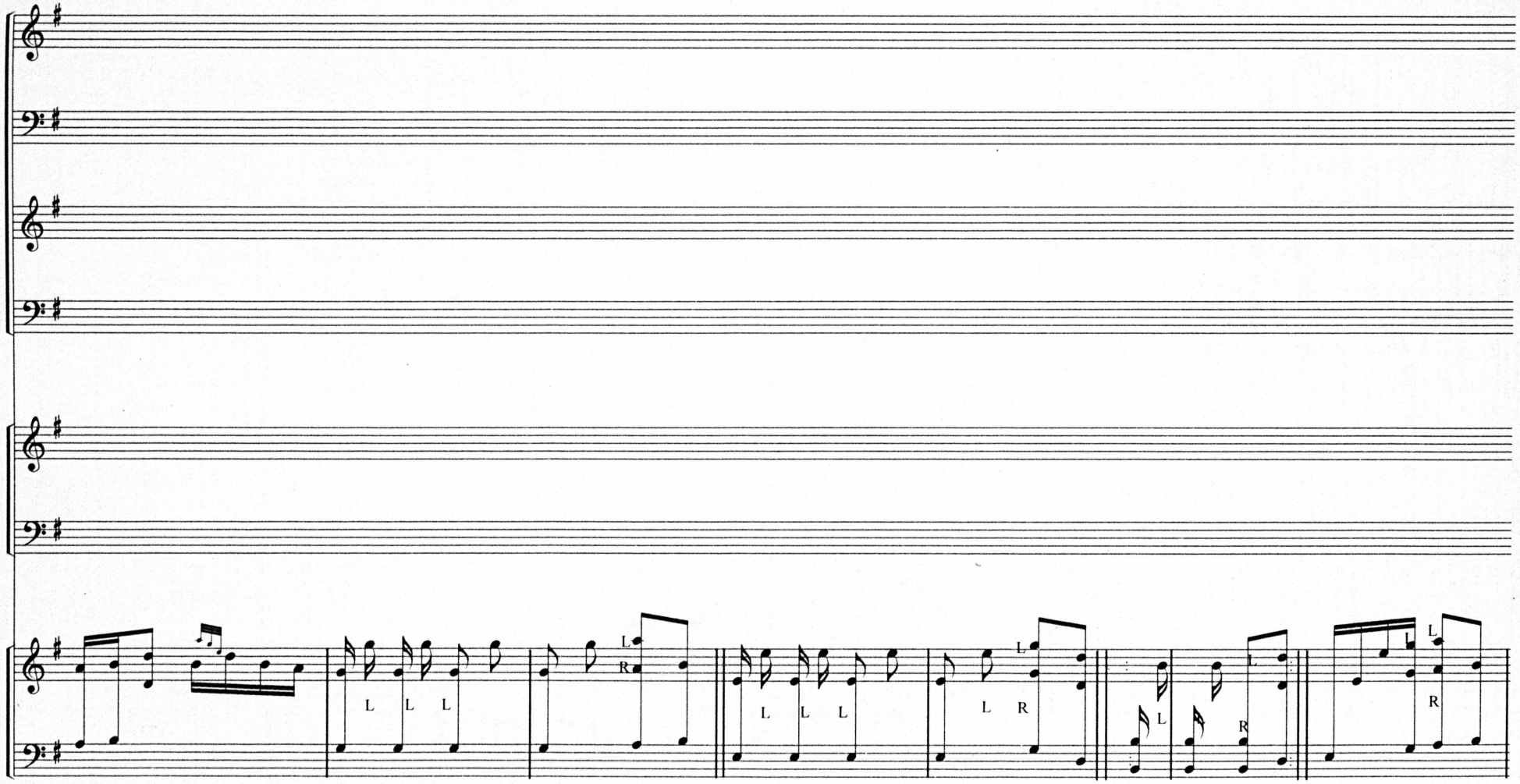
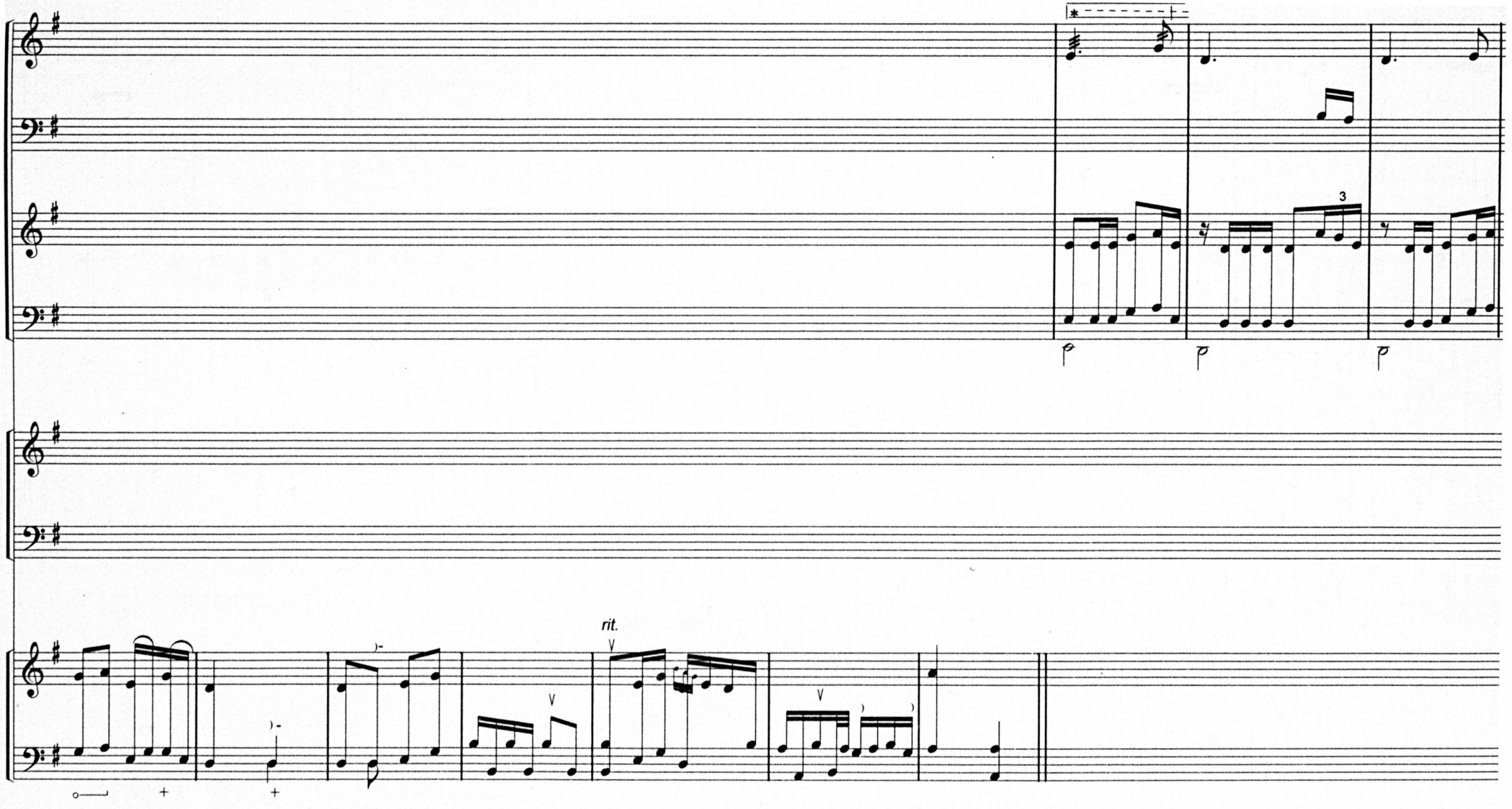
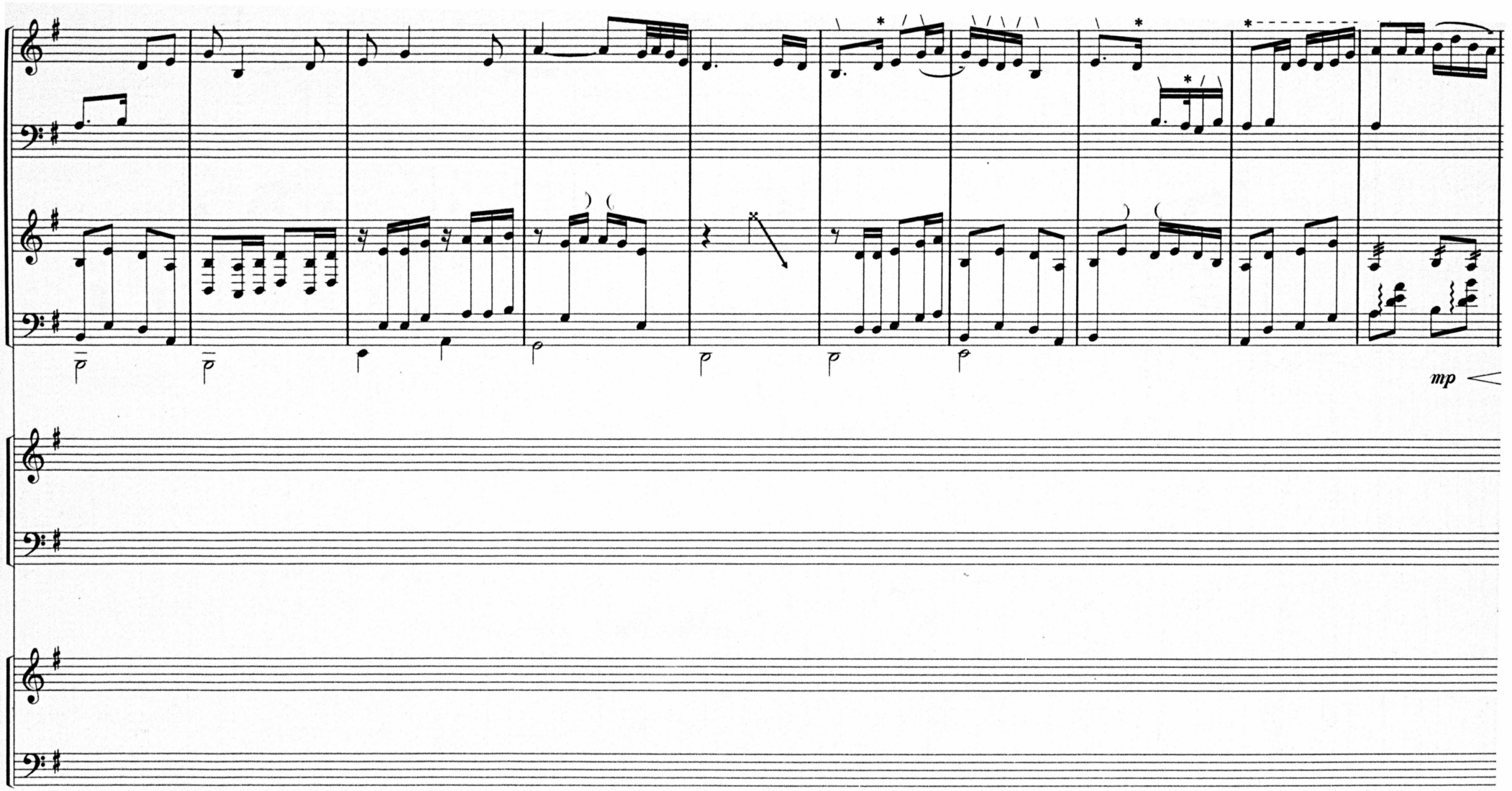
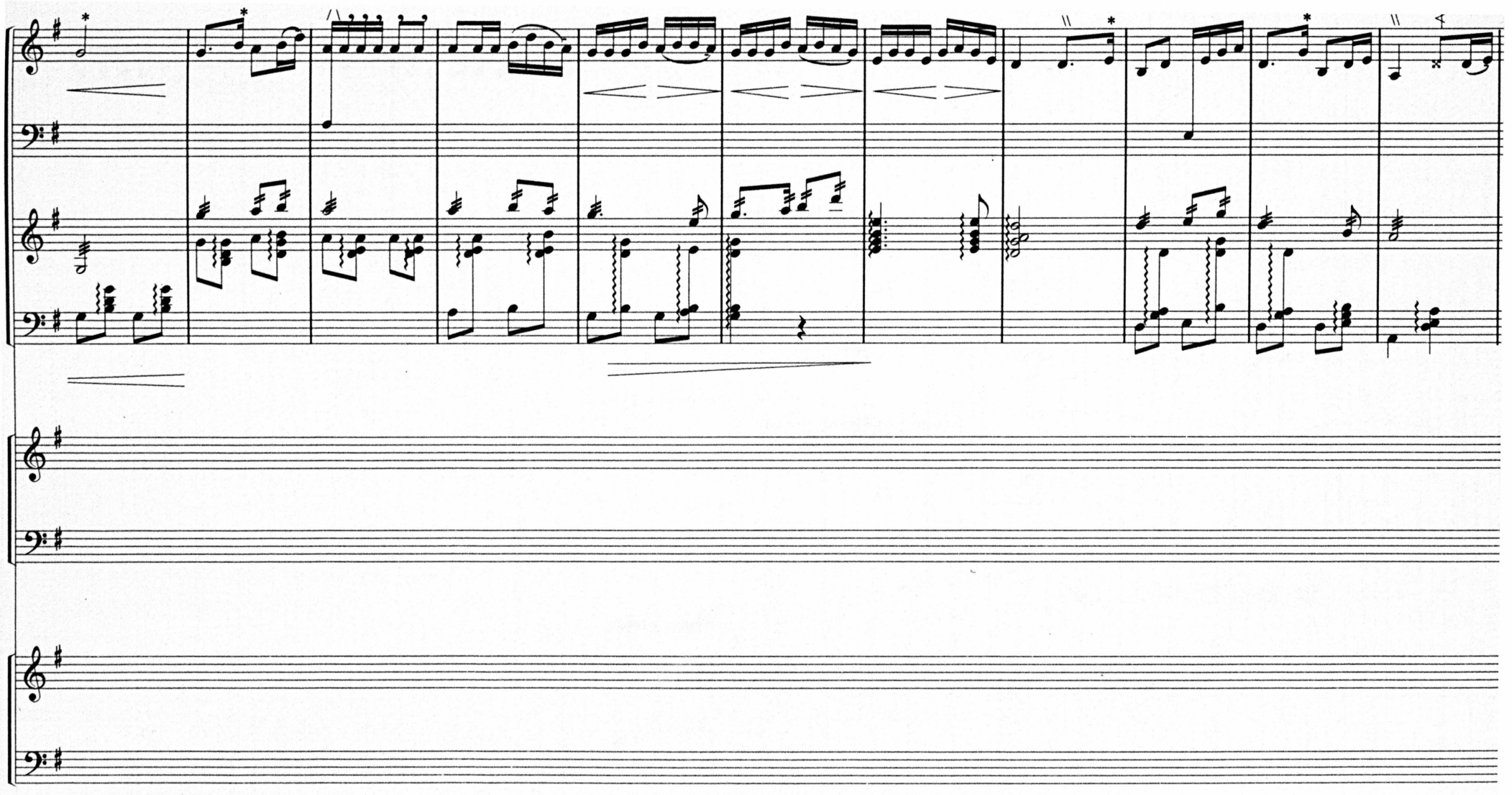
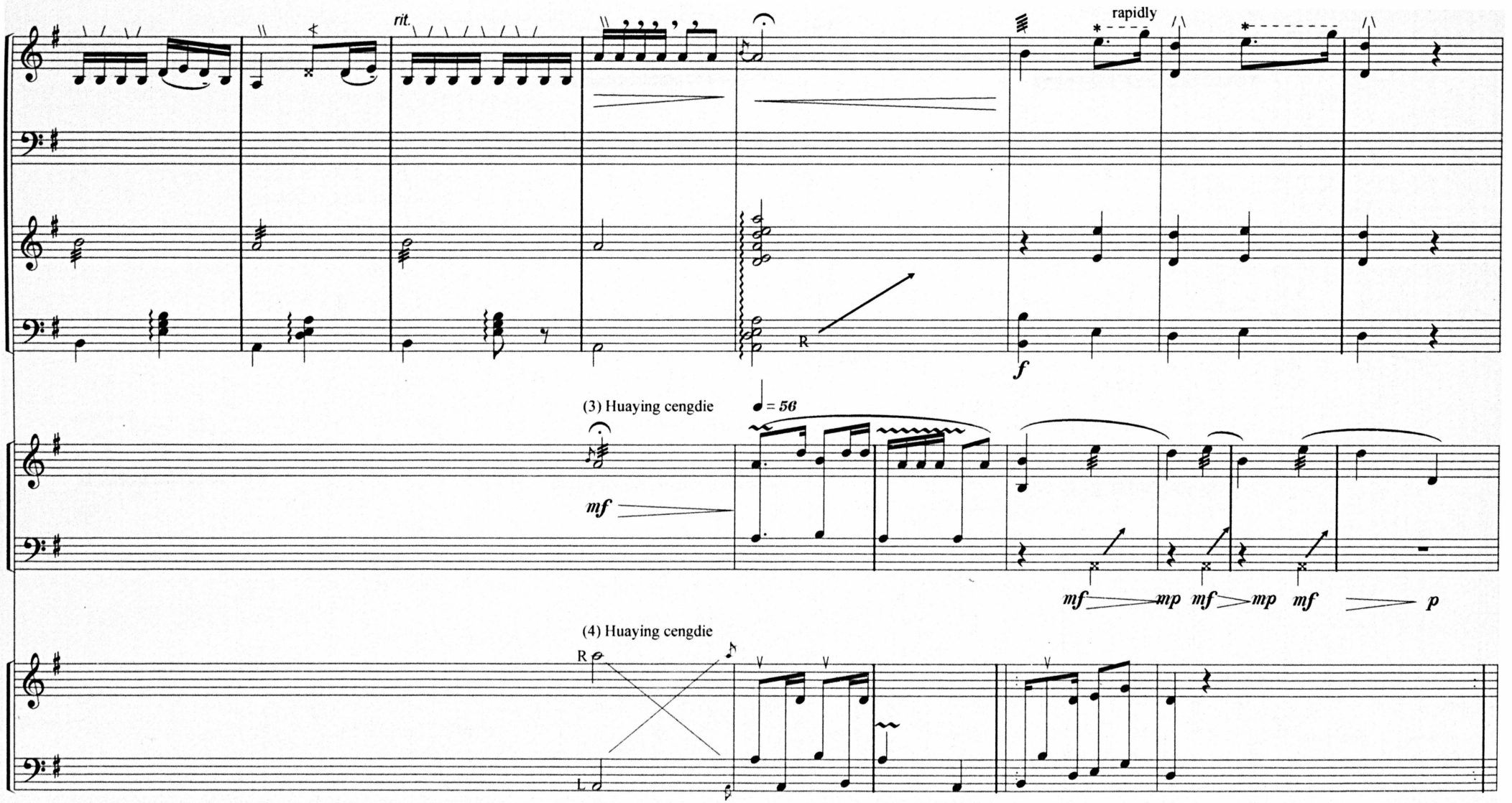
L
L

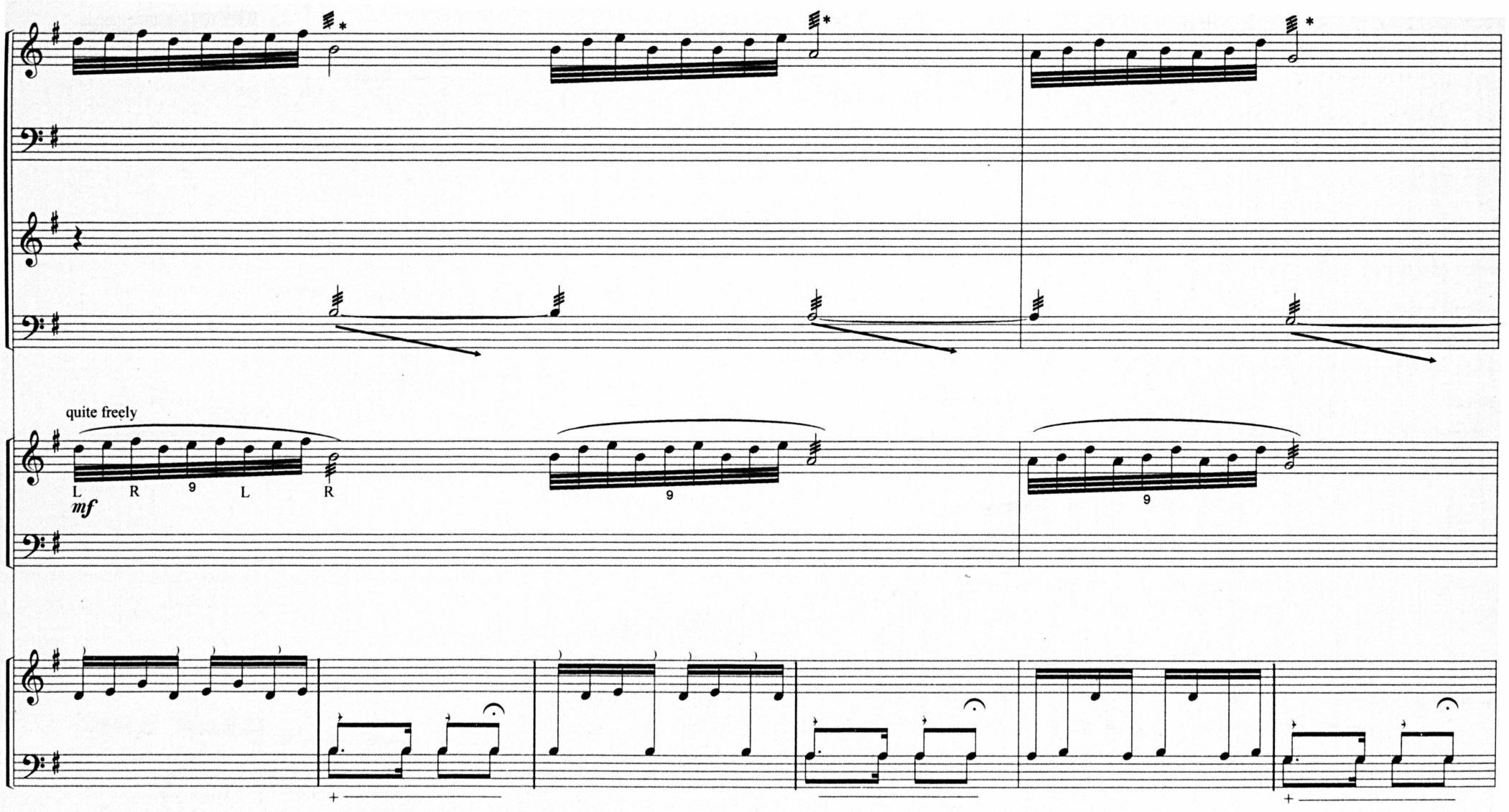

L
L
L
L
R
L
L
L
L
R
L
L
R
L
L
R

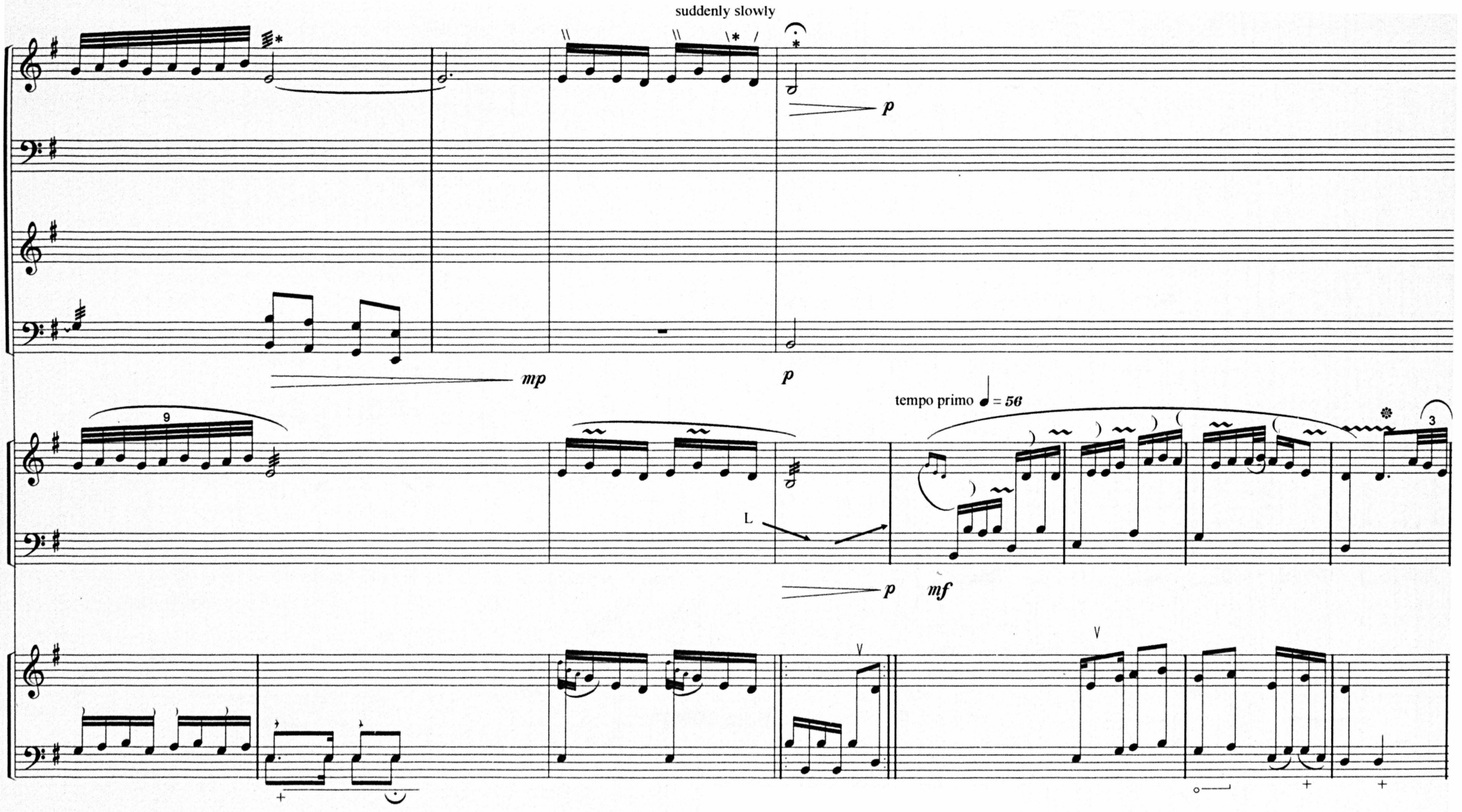

*
3
rit.

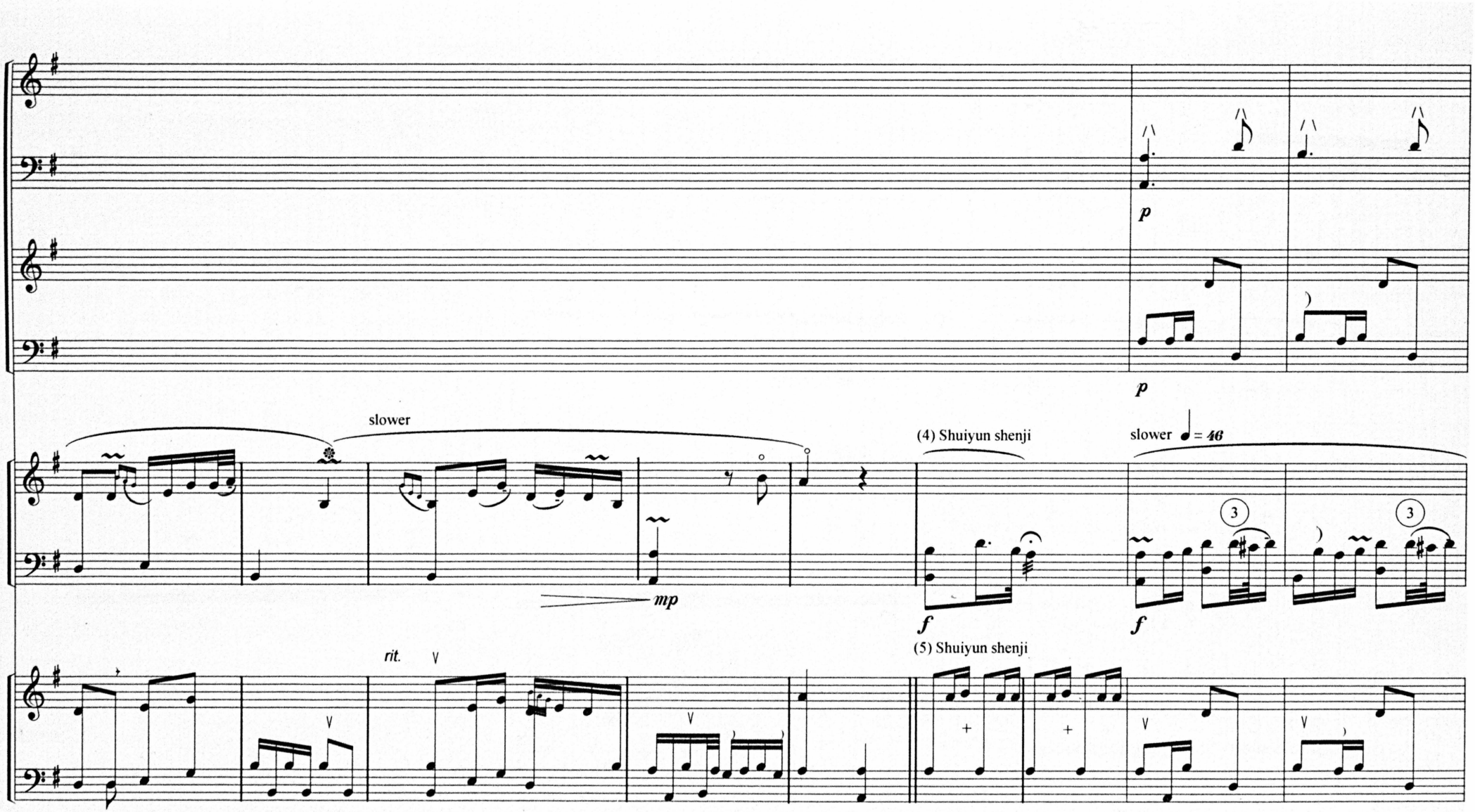

mp

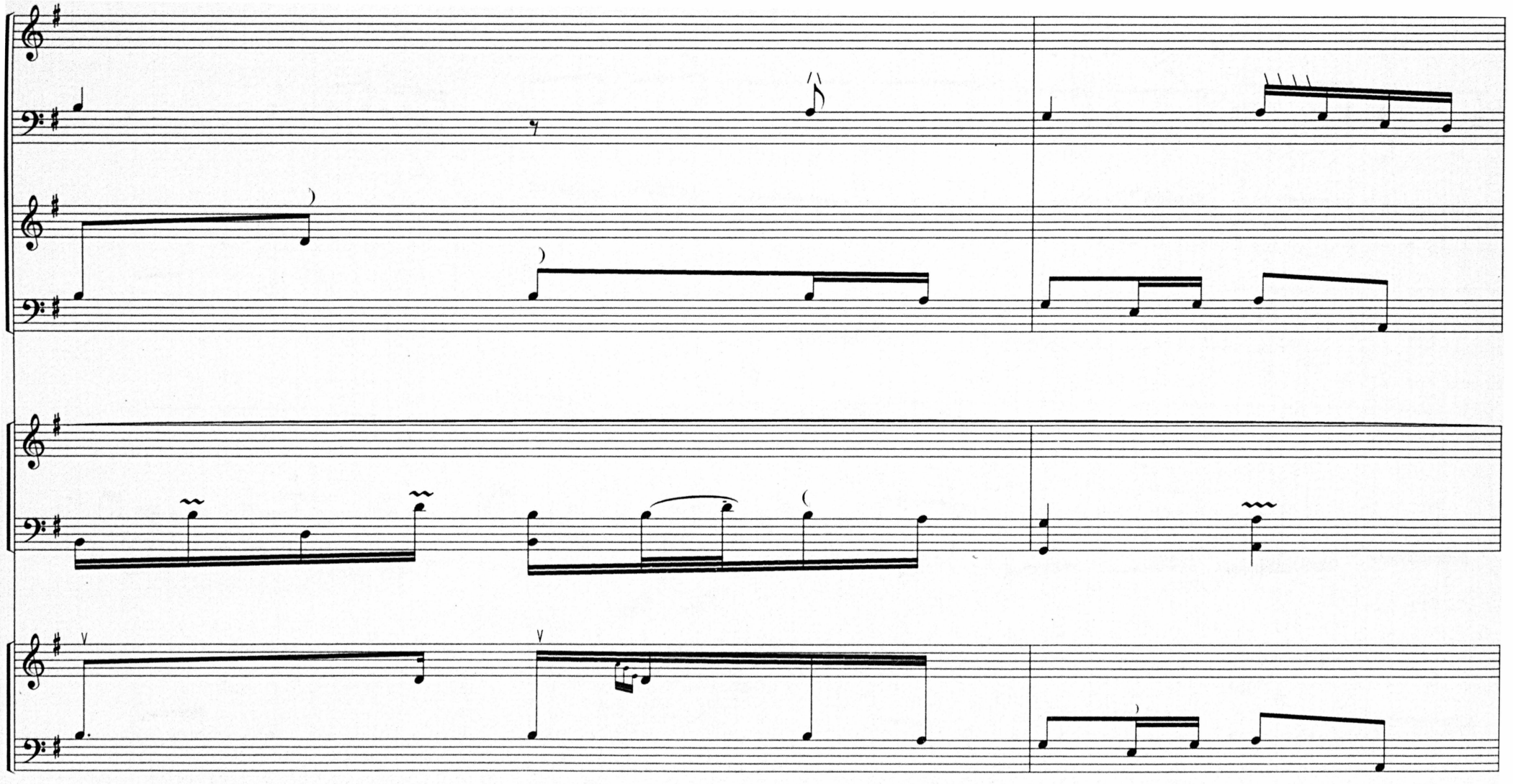


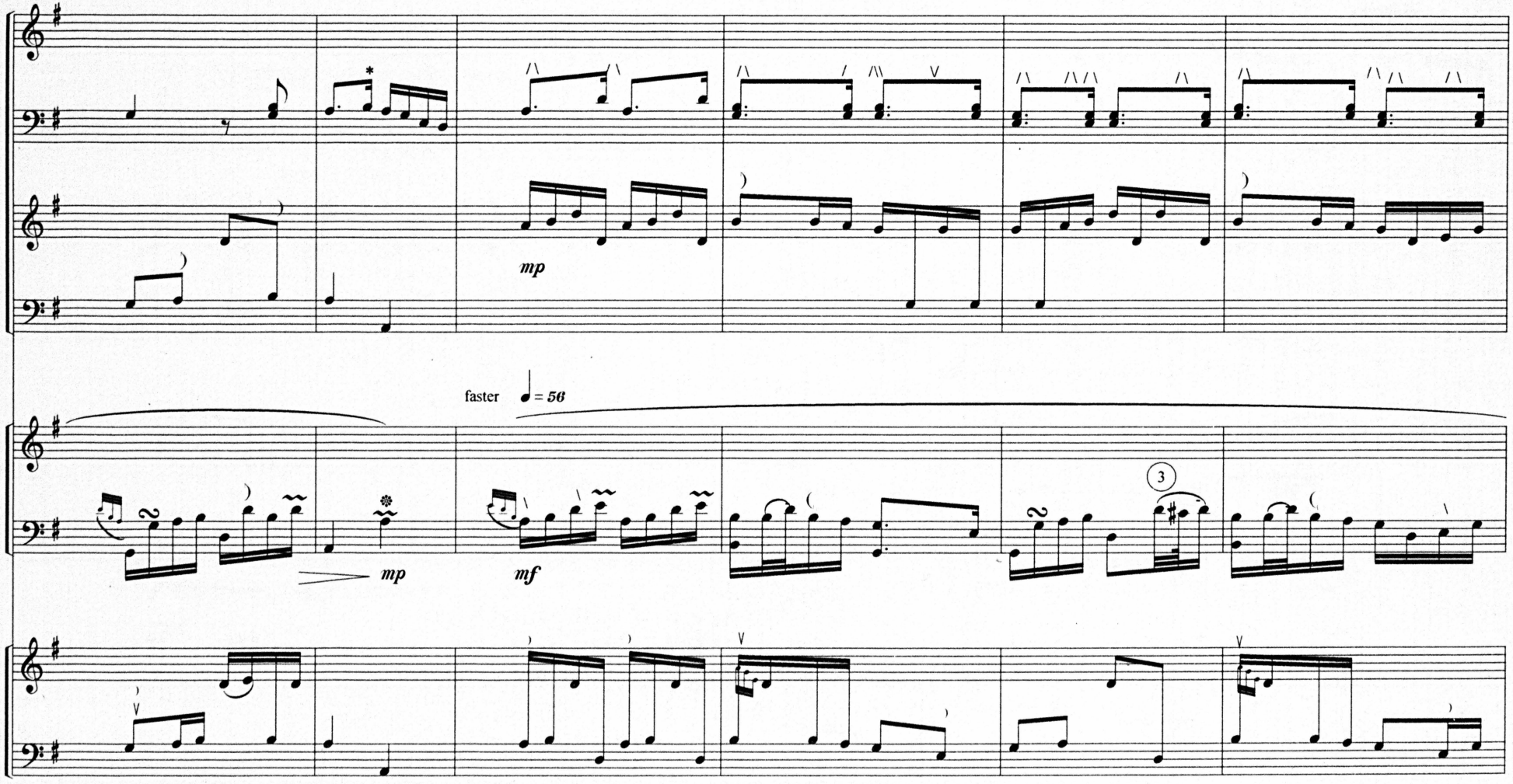

rit.
rapidly
R
f
(3) Huaying cengdie
♩ = 56
mf
mf mp mf mp mf p
(4) Huaying cengdie
R
L

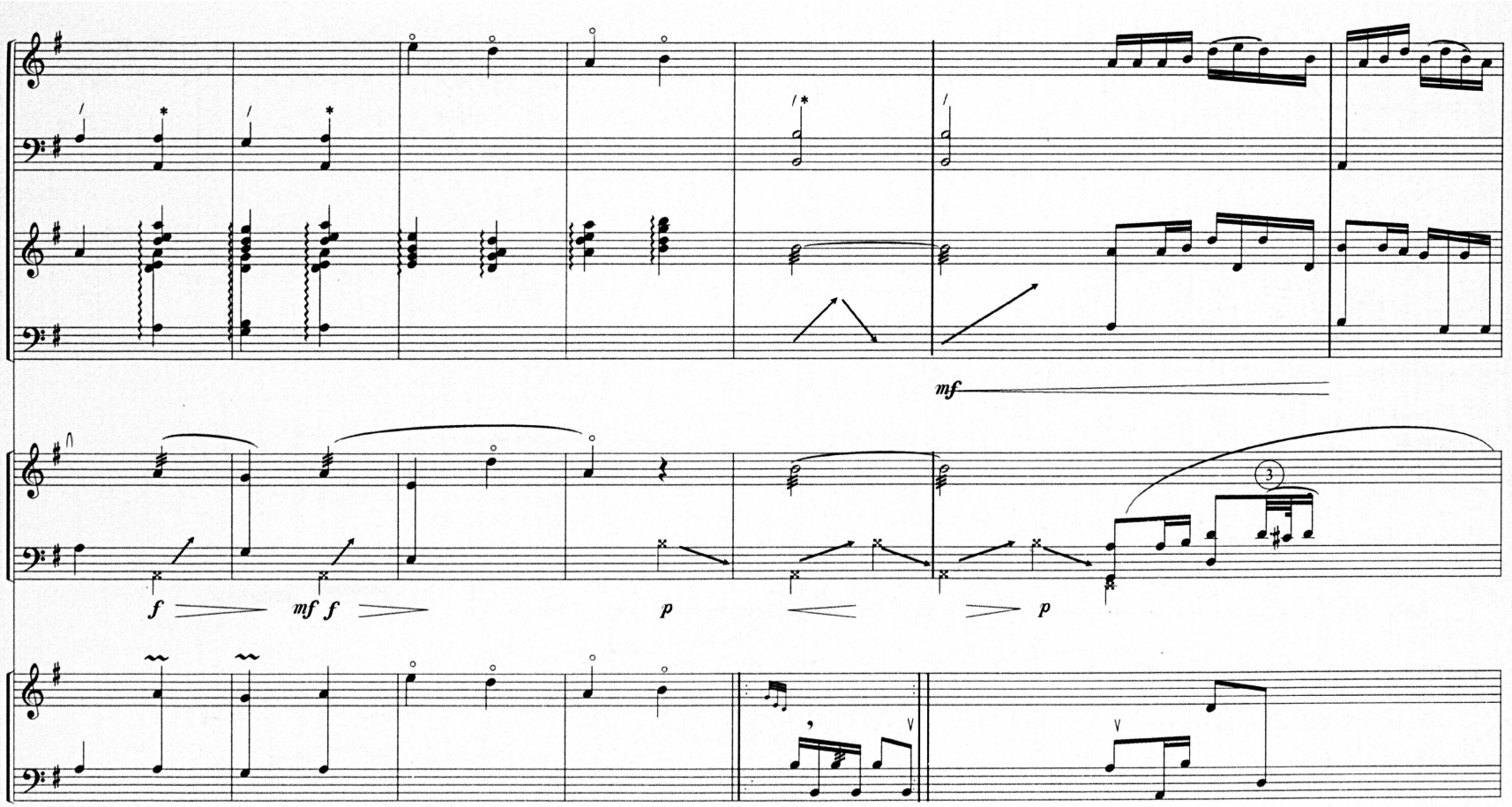

quite freely
L
R
9
L
R
mf
9
9

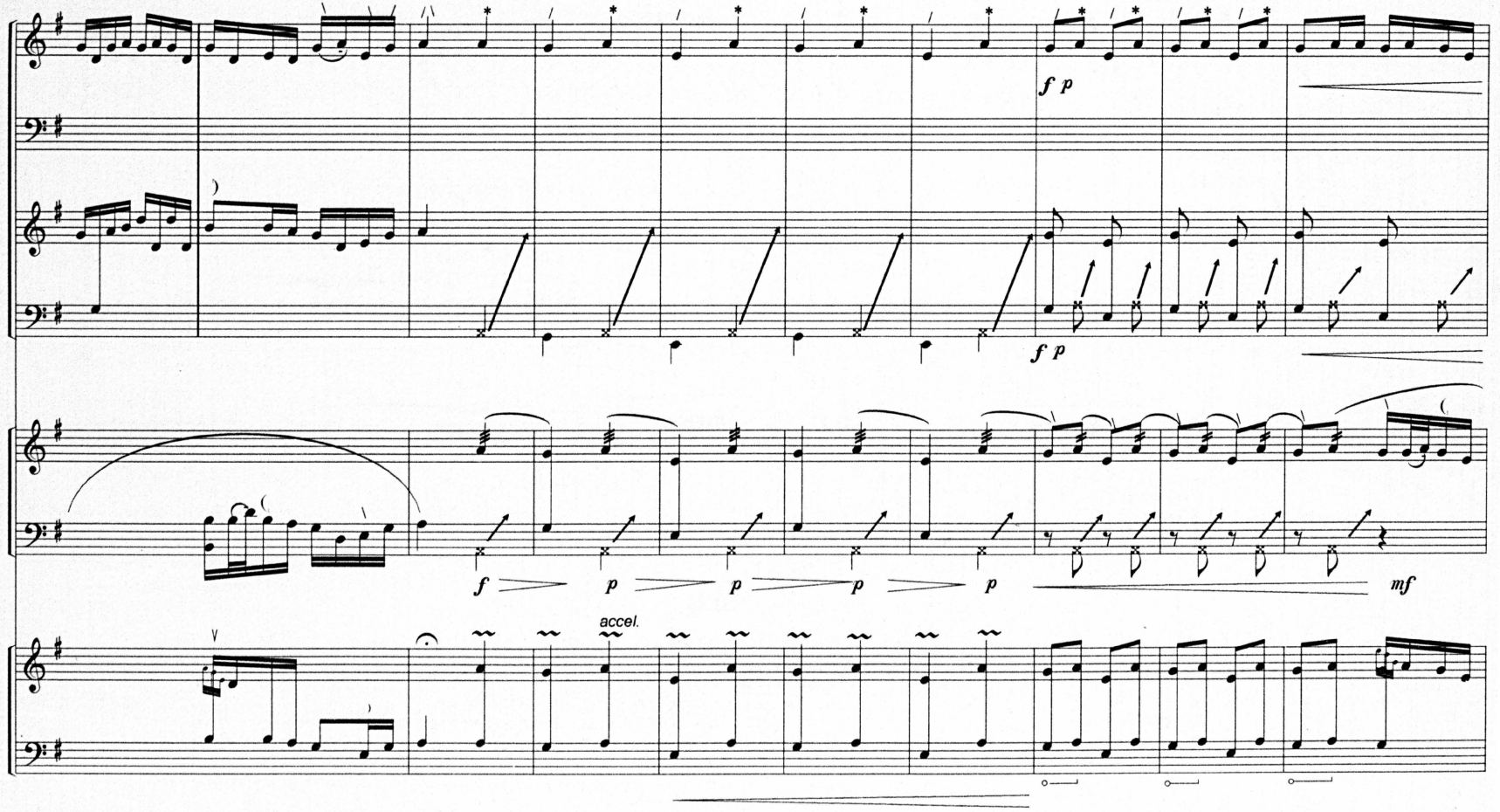

suddenly slowly
p
mp
p
9
tempo primo ♩= 56
3
L
p
mf
V
V

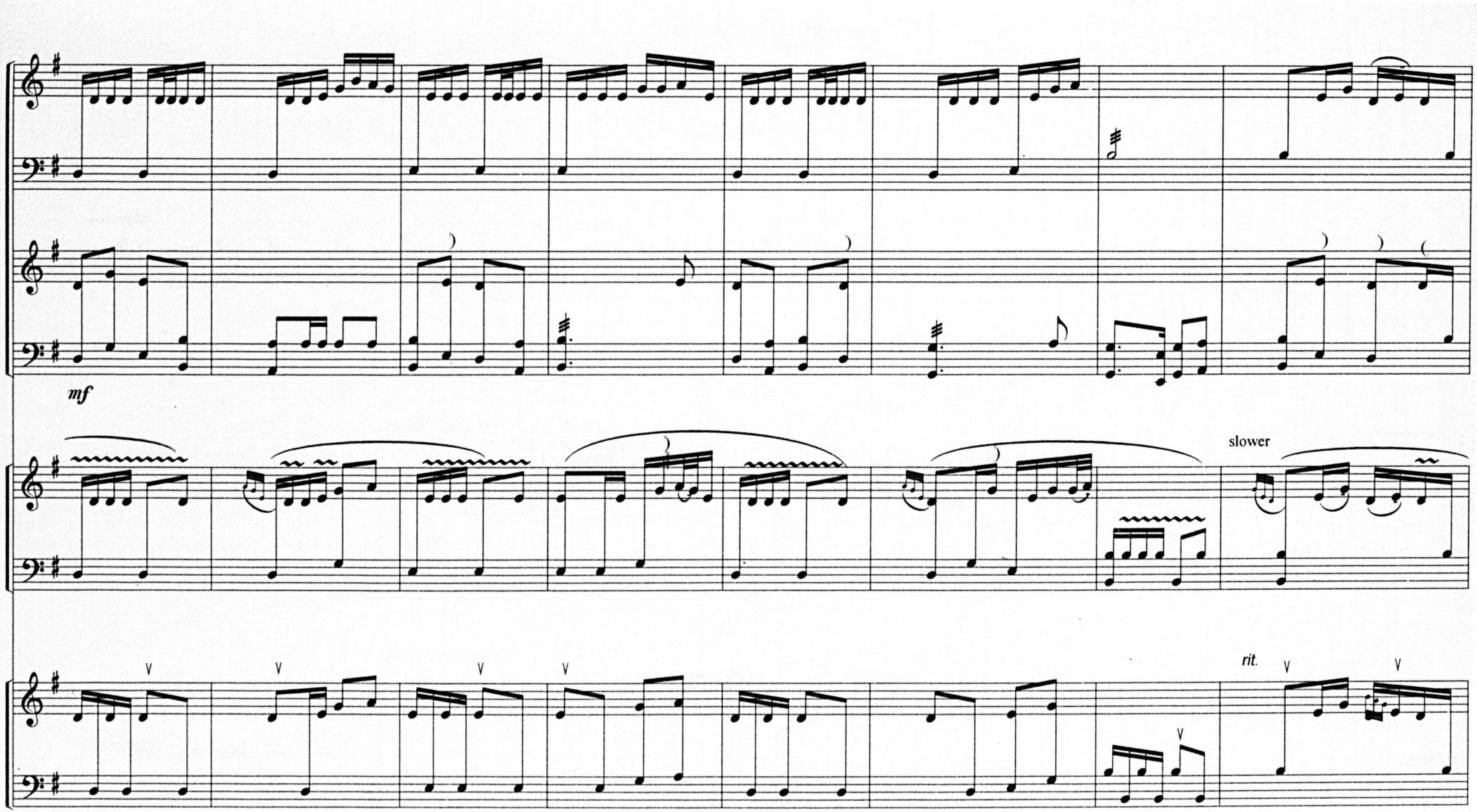

p
p
slower
mp
(4) Shuiyun shenji
slower ♩ = 46
3
3
f
f
rit.
(5) Shuiyun shenji

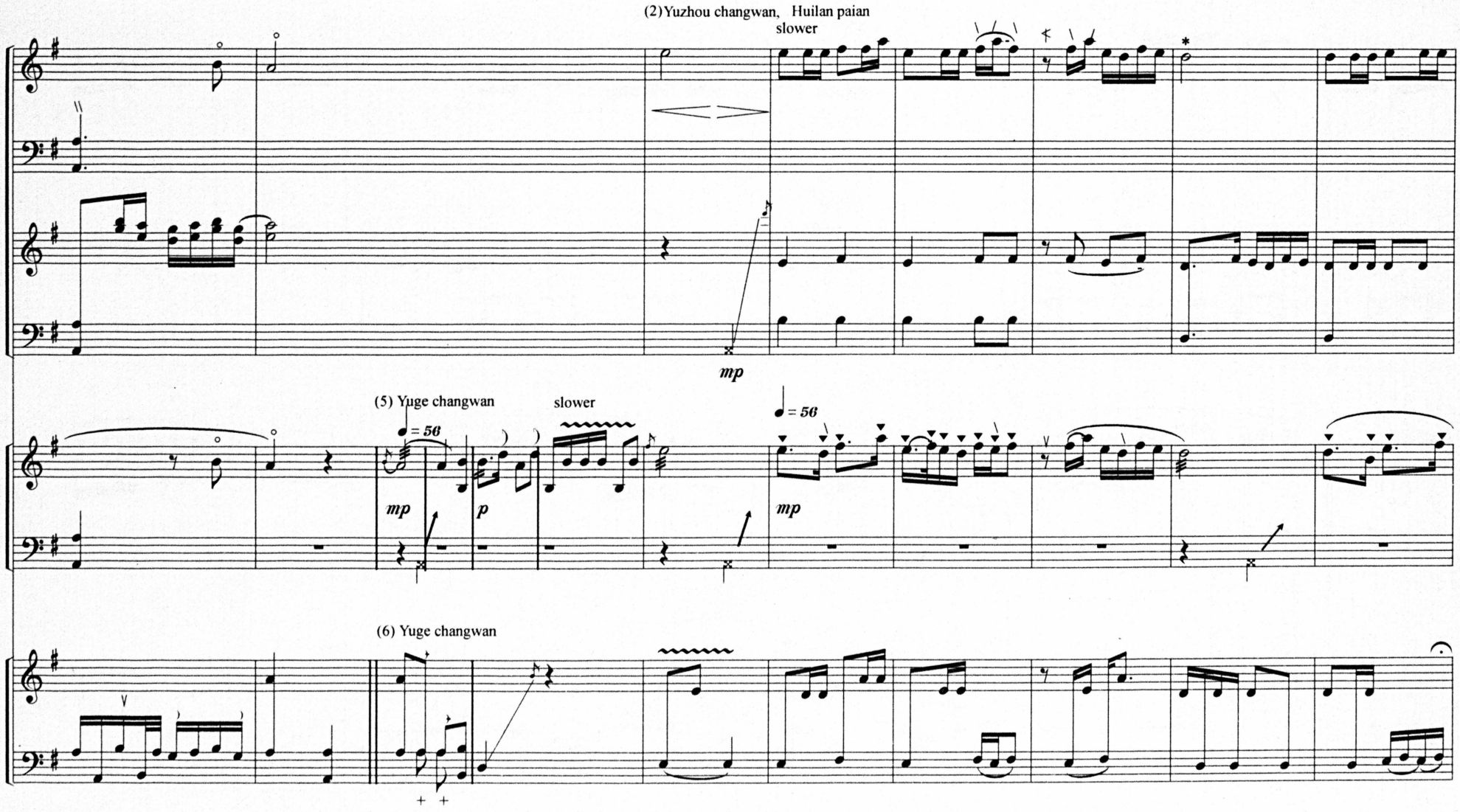


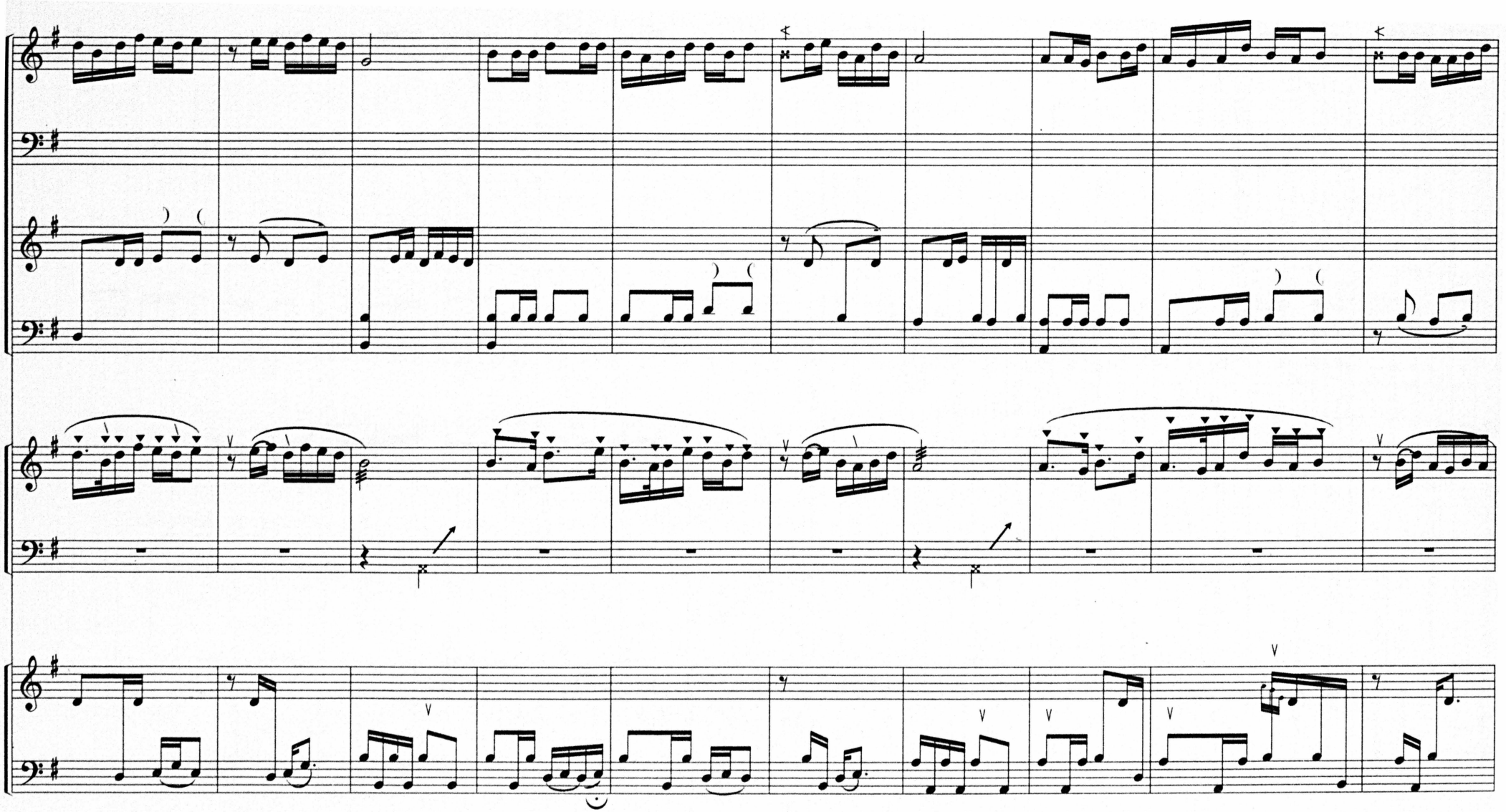

mp
faster
♩ = 56
mp
mf
3

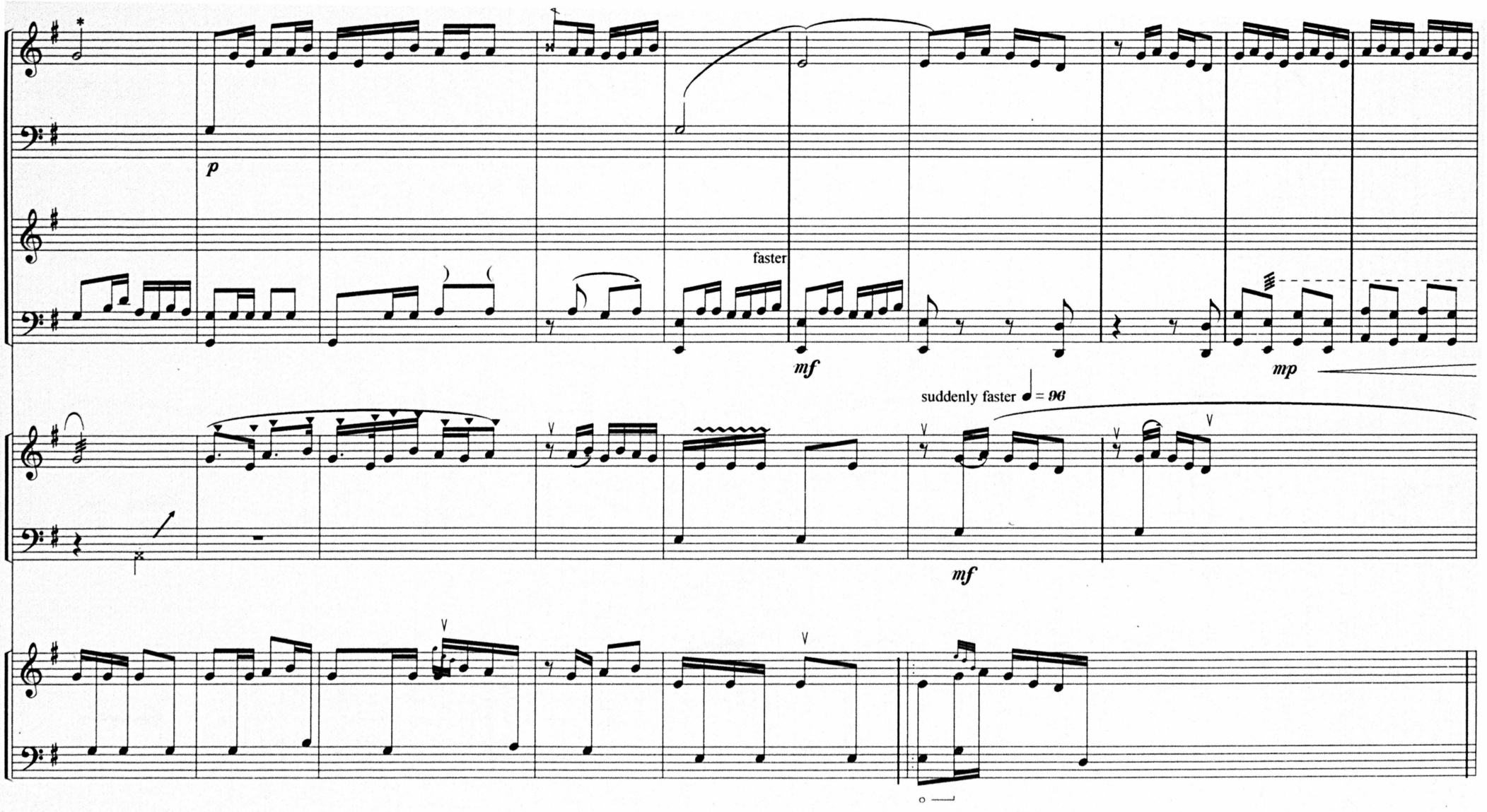

mf
f
mf f
p
p
3

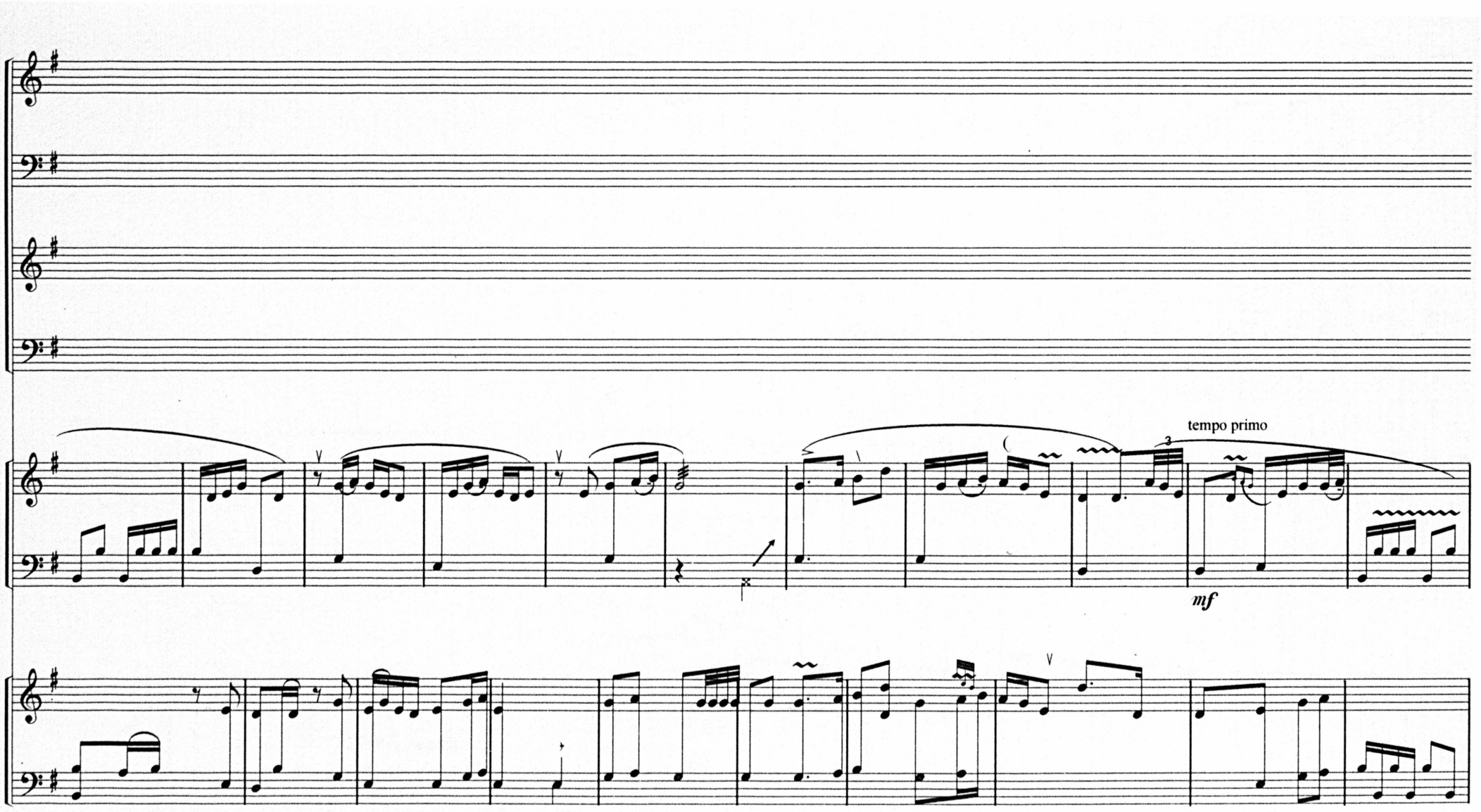

f p
f p
f
p
p
p
p
mf
accel.

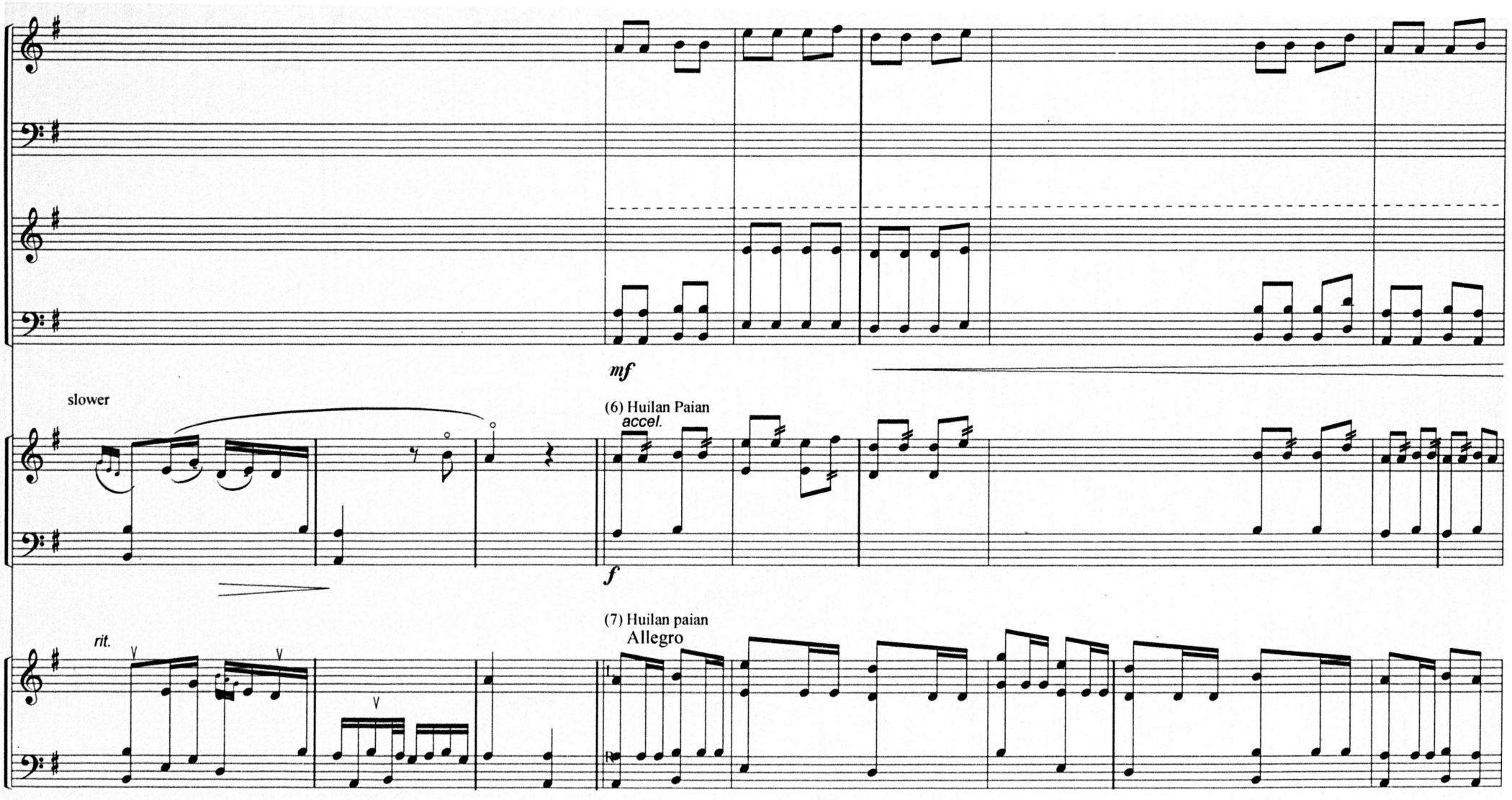

mf
slower
rit.

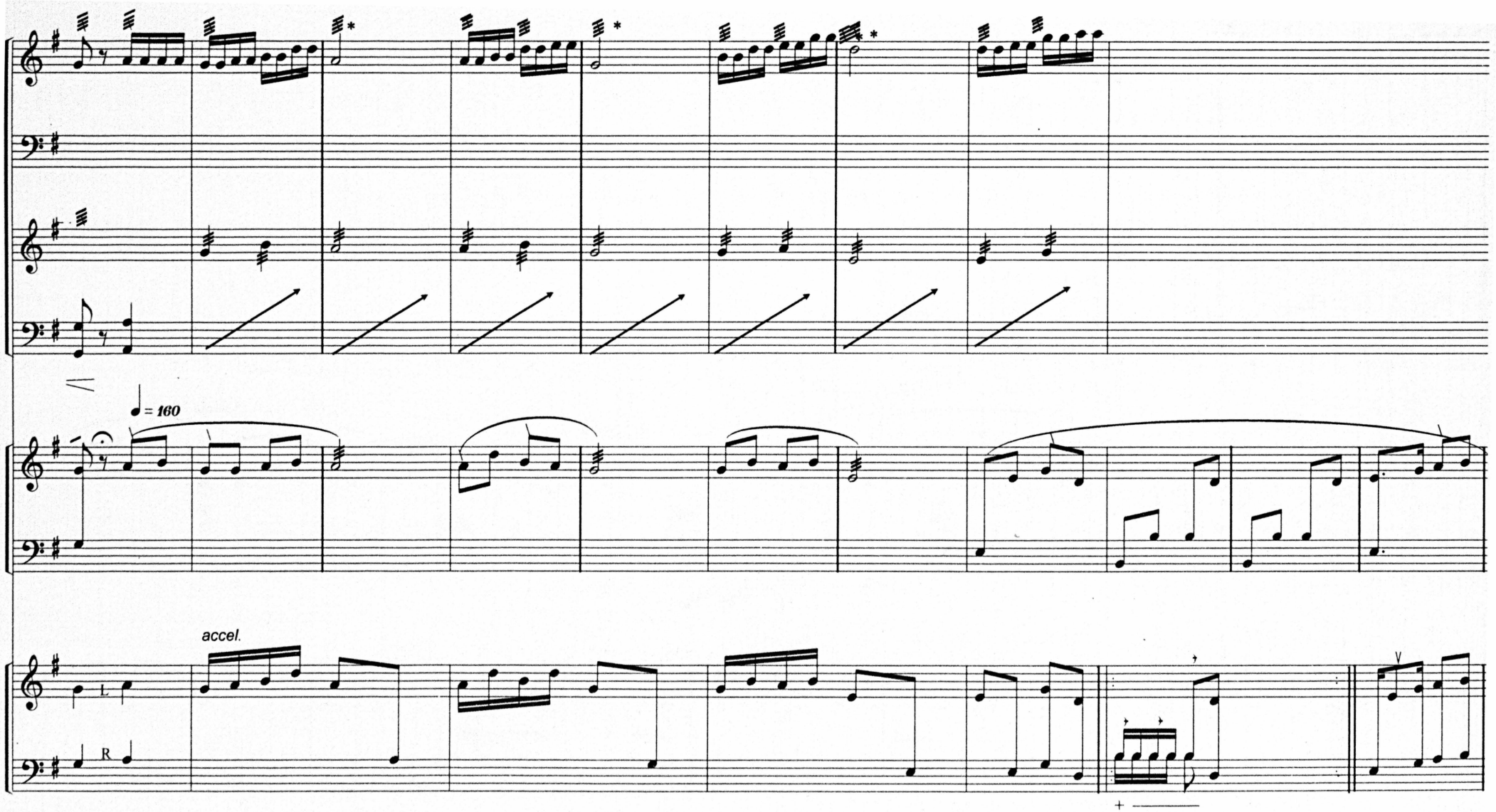

(2)Yuzhou changwan, Huilan paian
slower
mp
(5) Yuge changwan
slower
♩= 56
mp
p
♩= 56
mp
(6) Yuge changwan

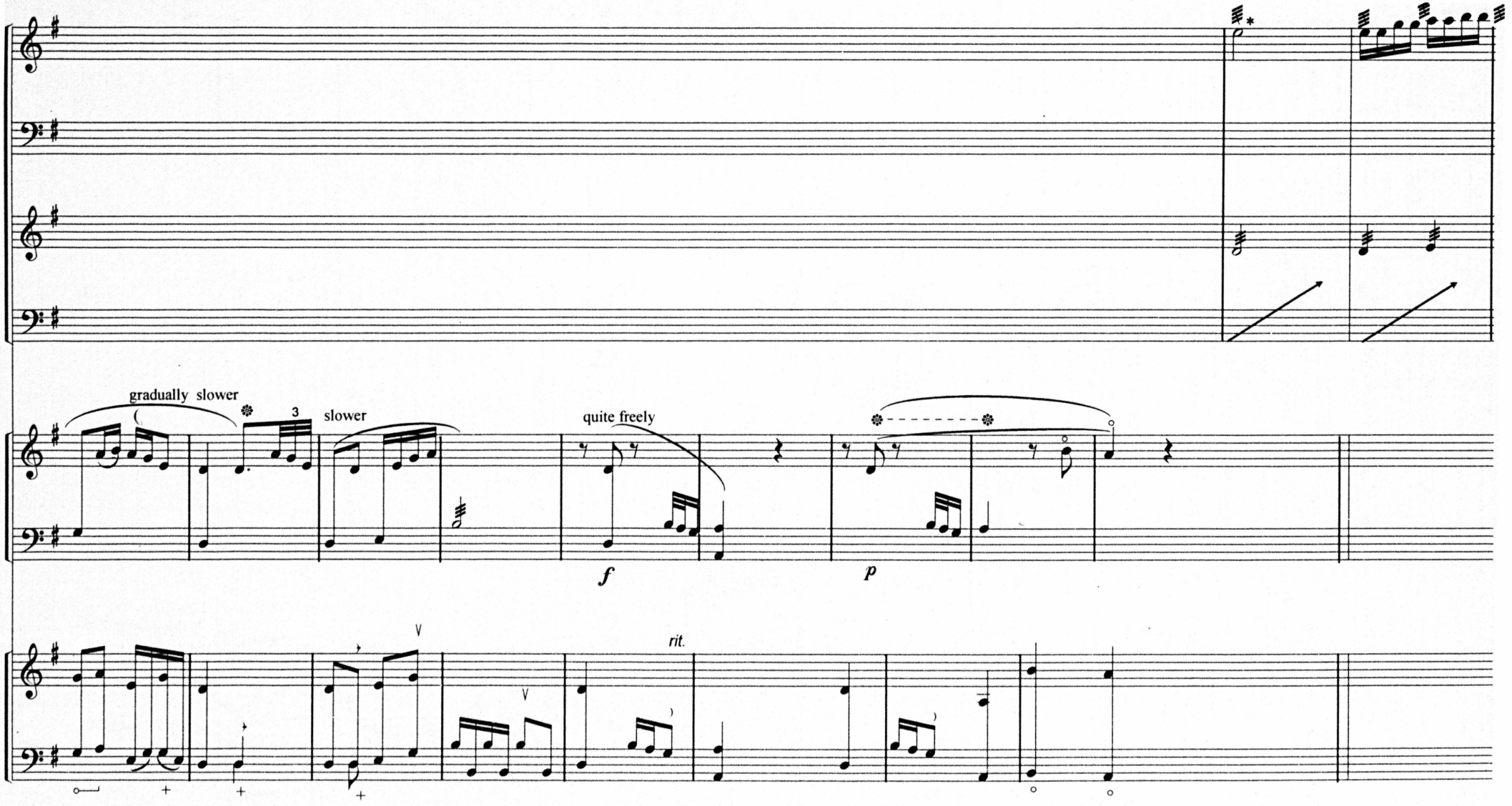


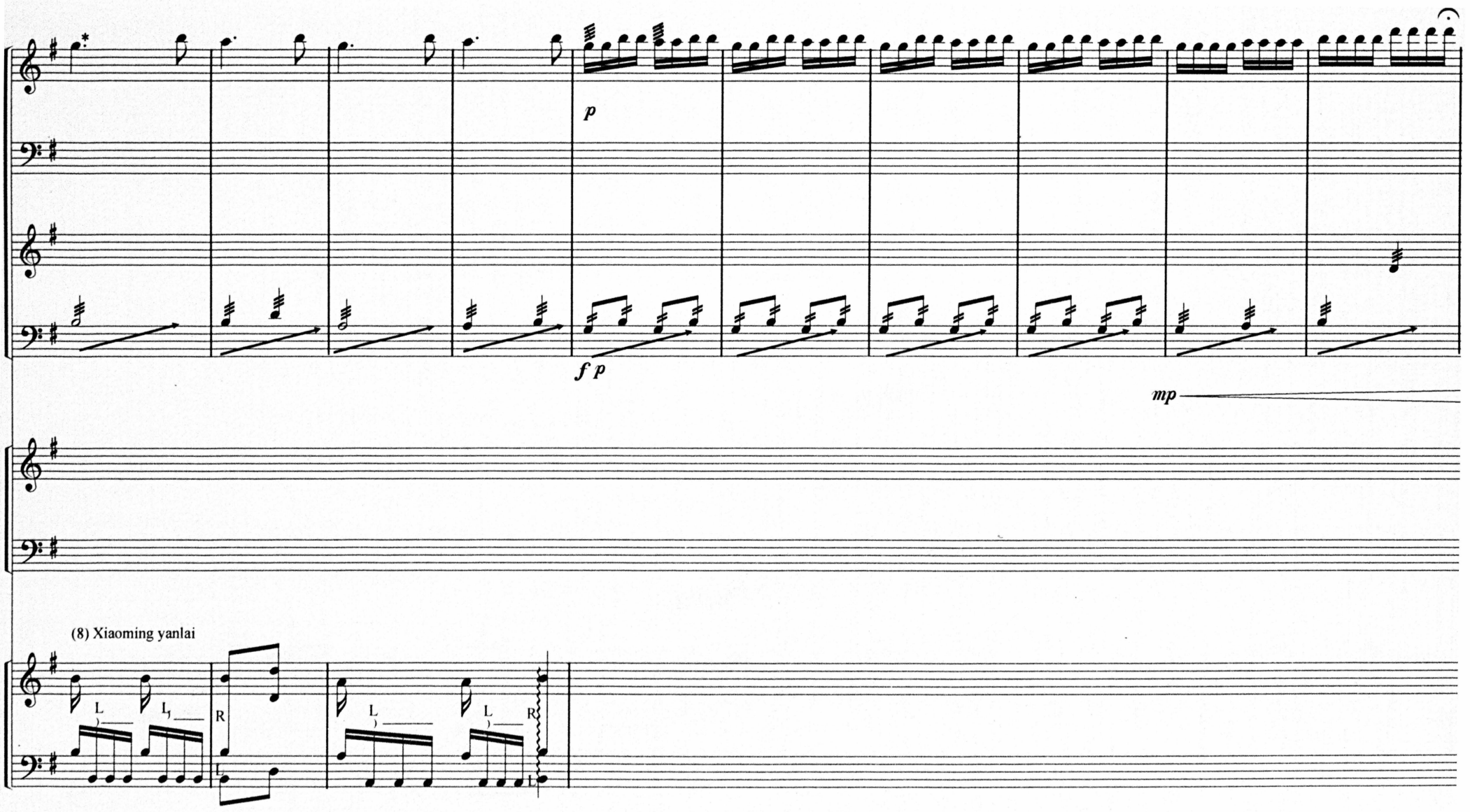

p
faster
mf
mp
suddenly faster ♩ = 96
mf

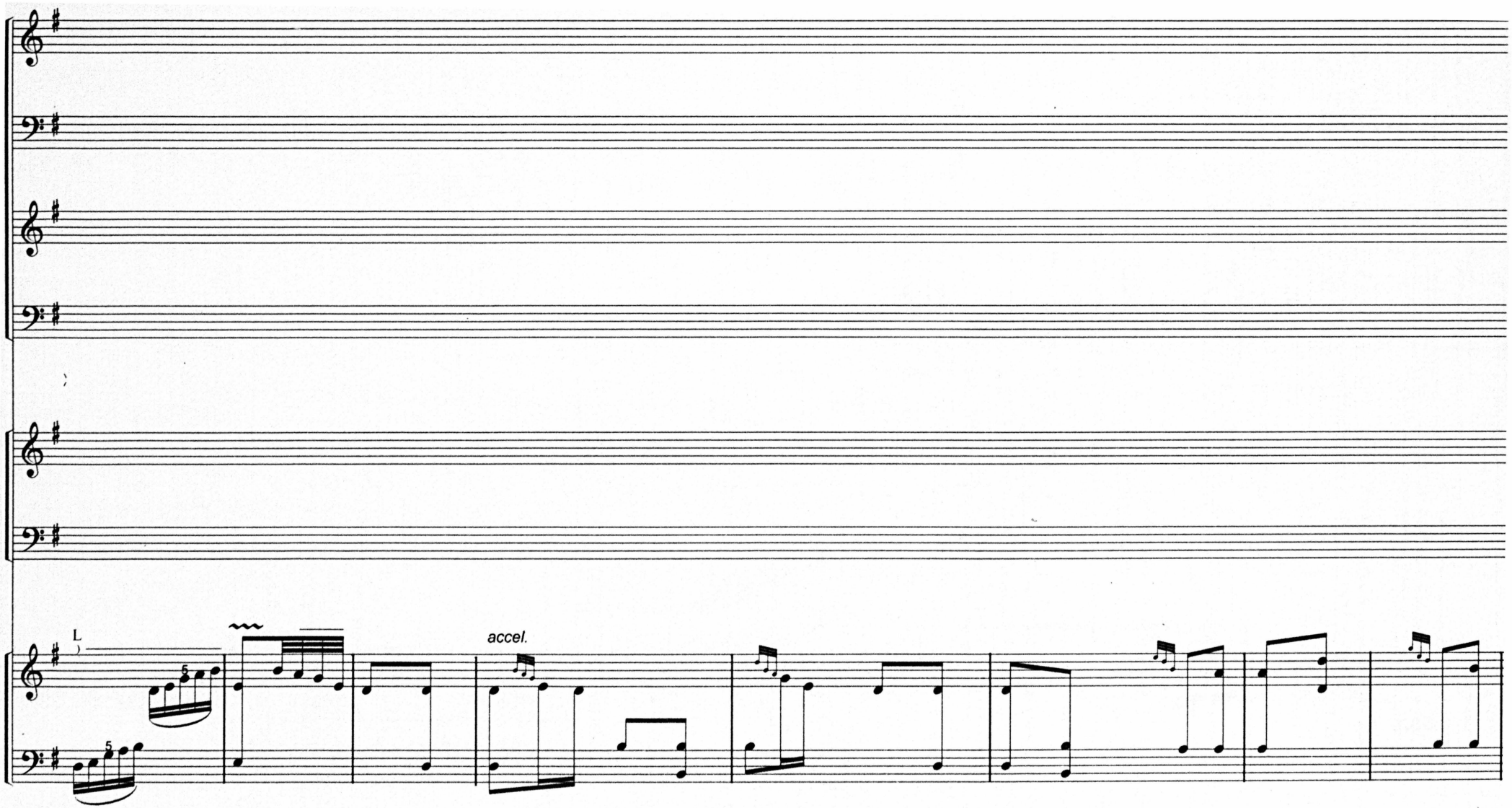

tempo primo
mf

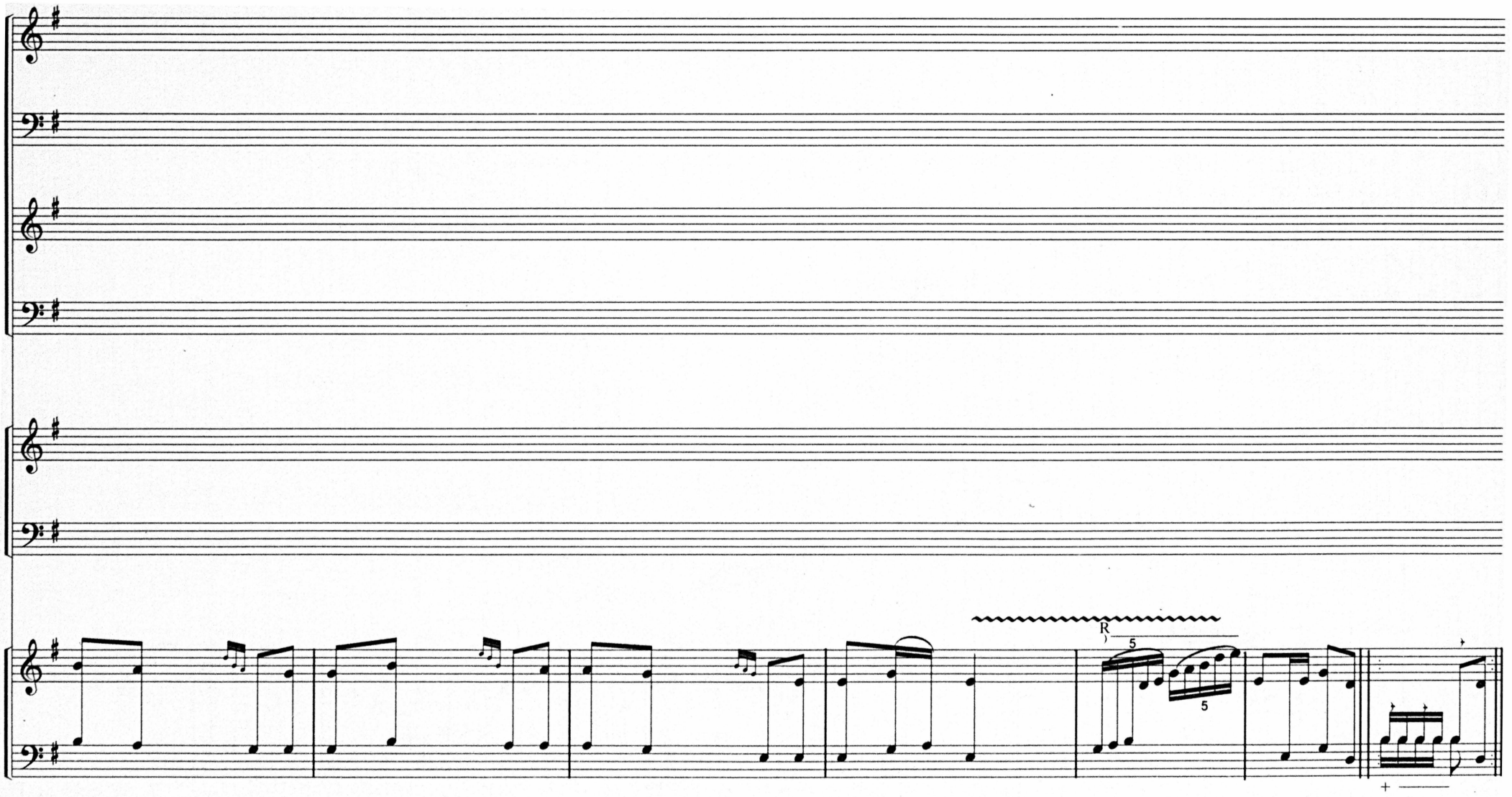

mf
slower
(6) Huilan Paian
accel.
f
rit.
(7) Huilan paian
Allegro

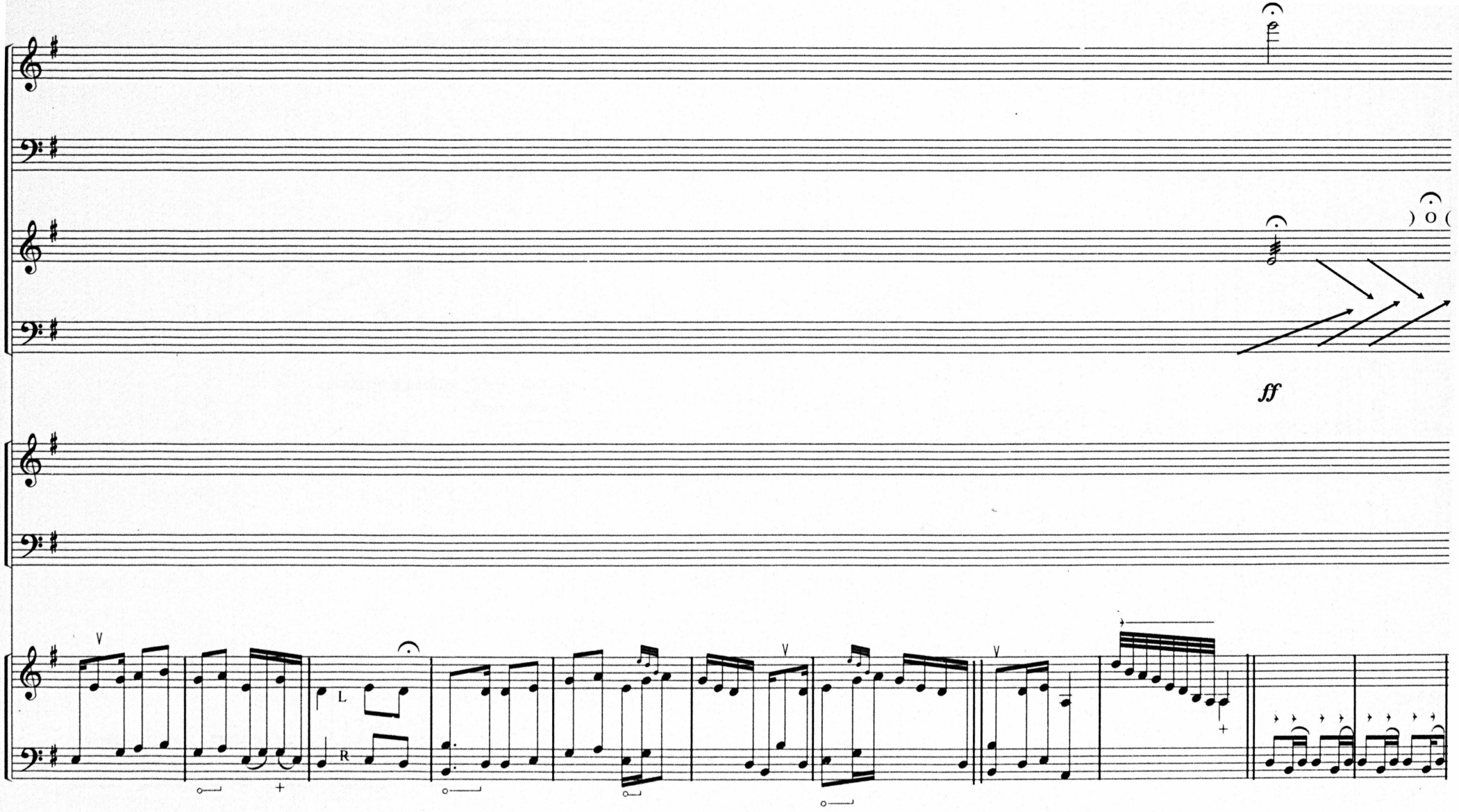

♩ = 160
accel.
L
R

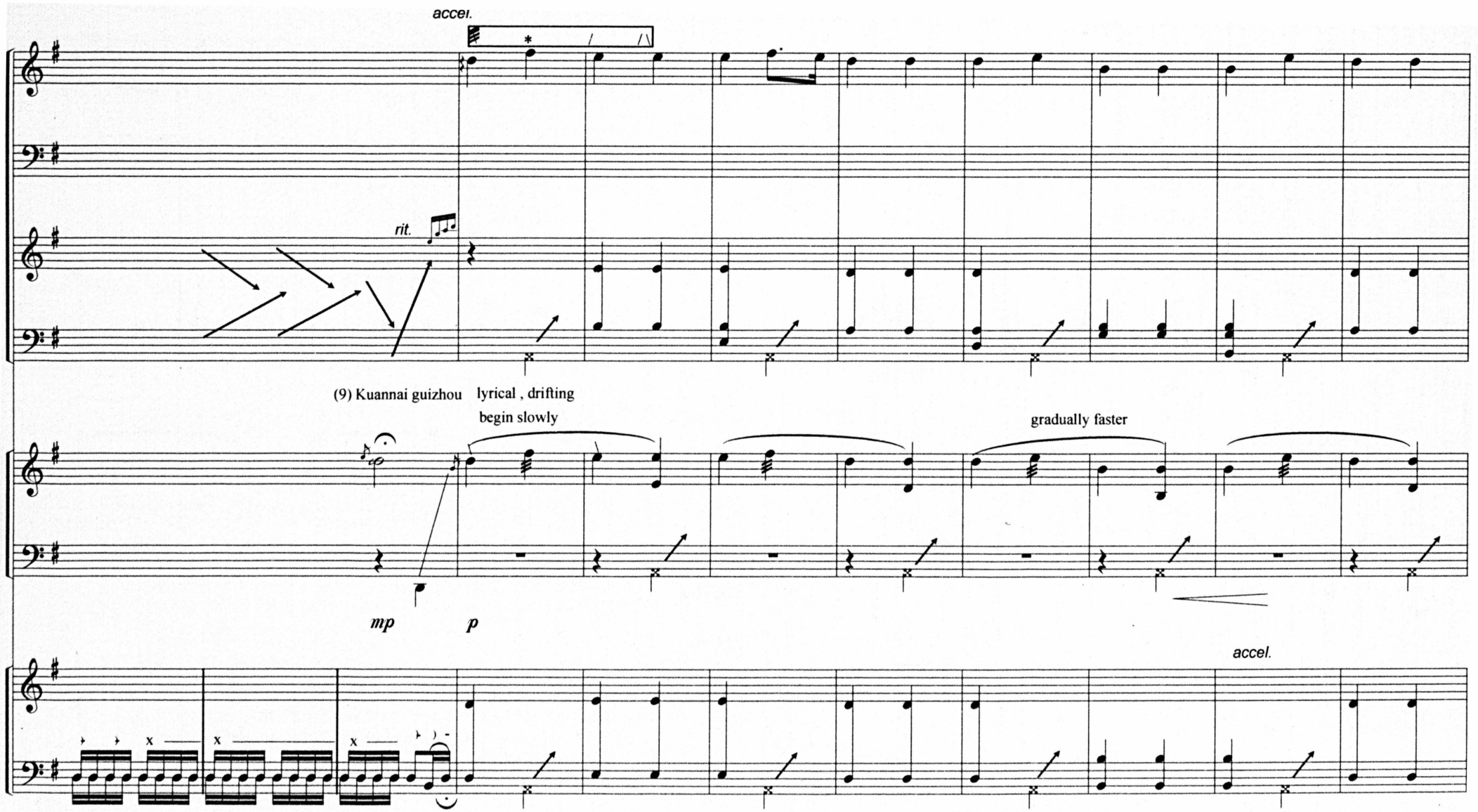

gradually slower
3
slower
quite freely
f
p
rit.

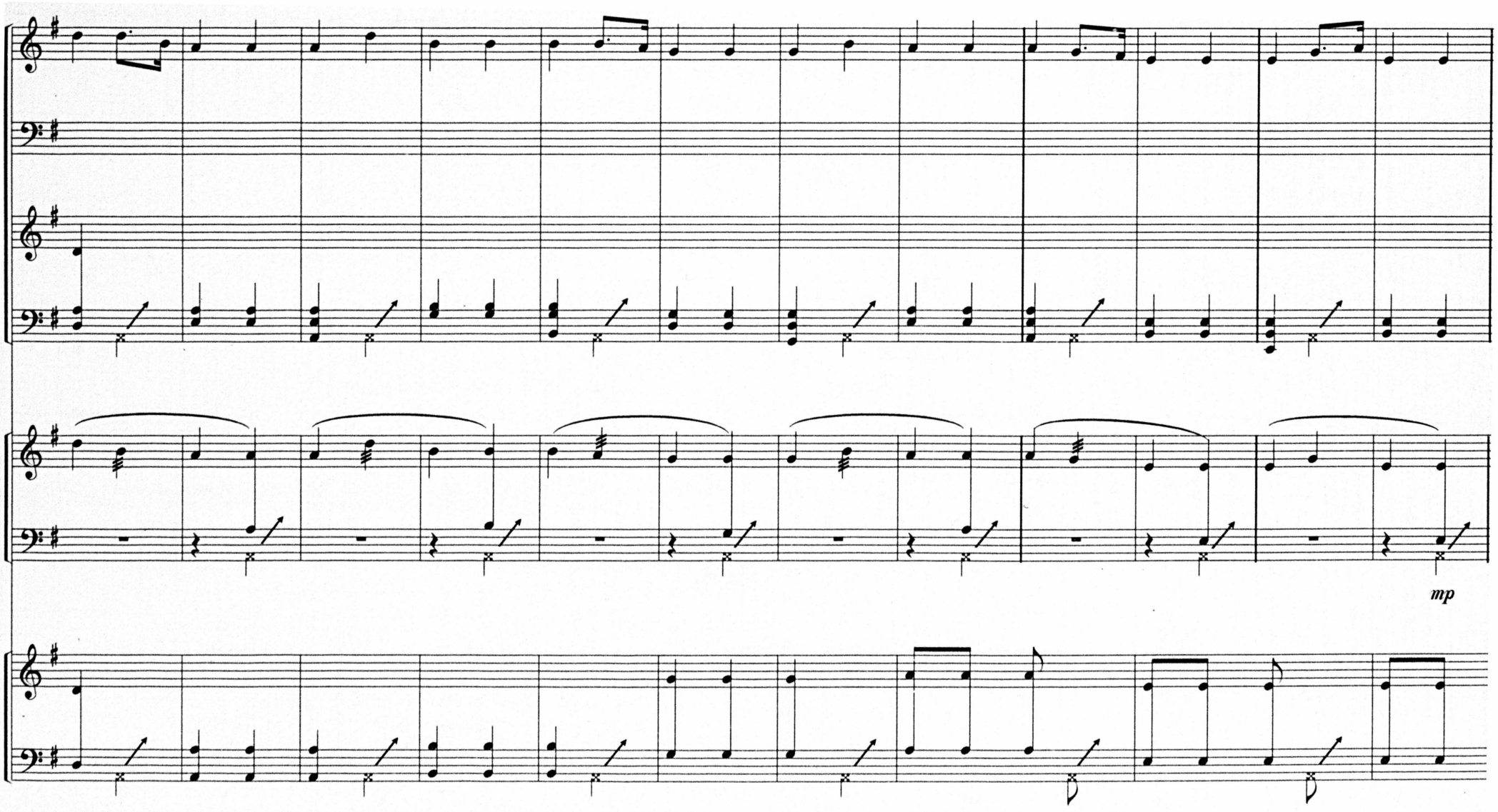

p
f p
mp
(8) Xiaoming yanlai
L
L
R
L
L
R
L

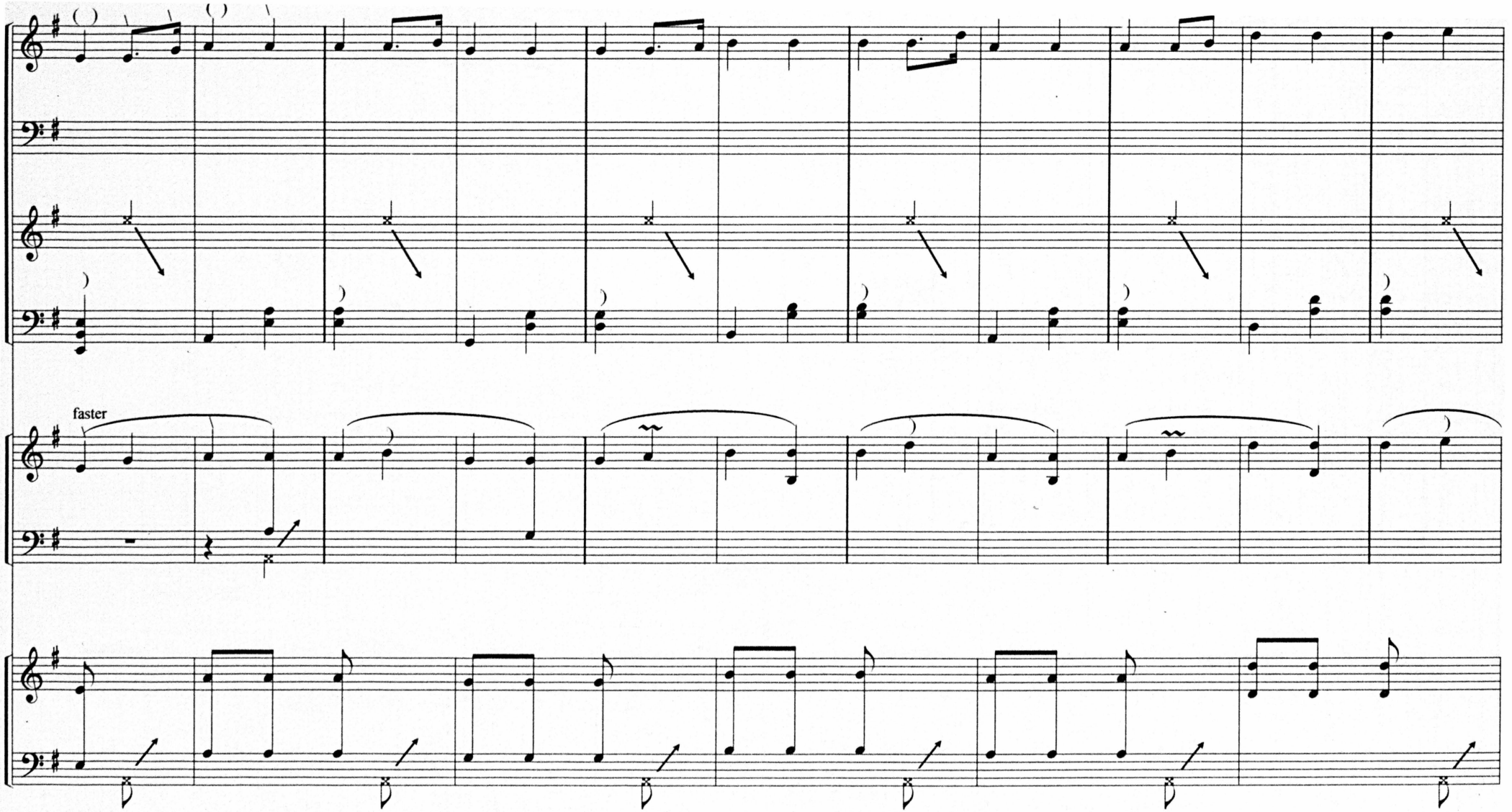

L
5
5
accel.

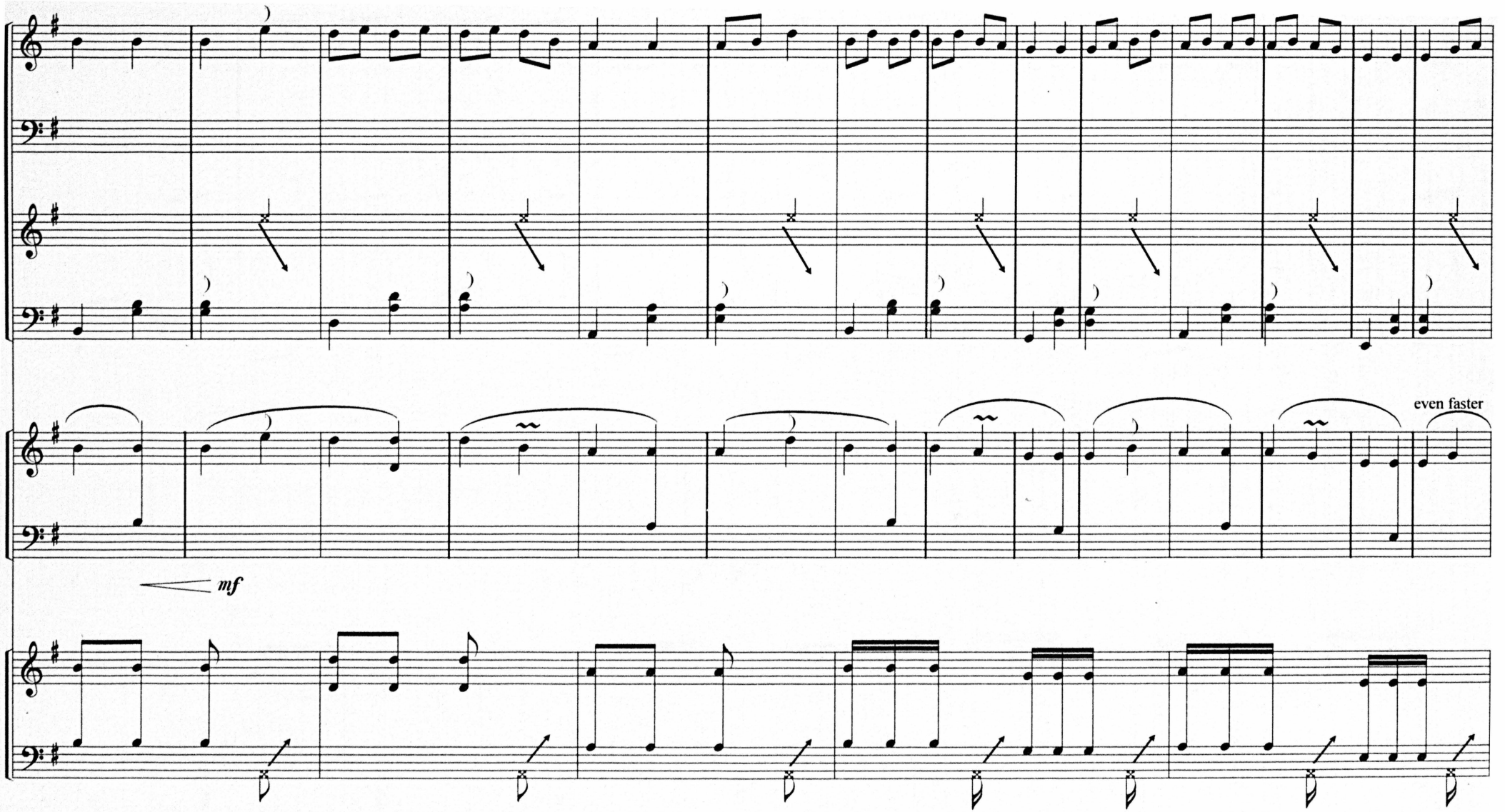

R
5
5

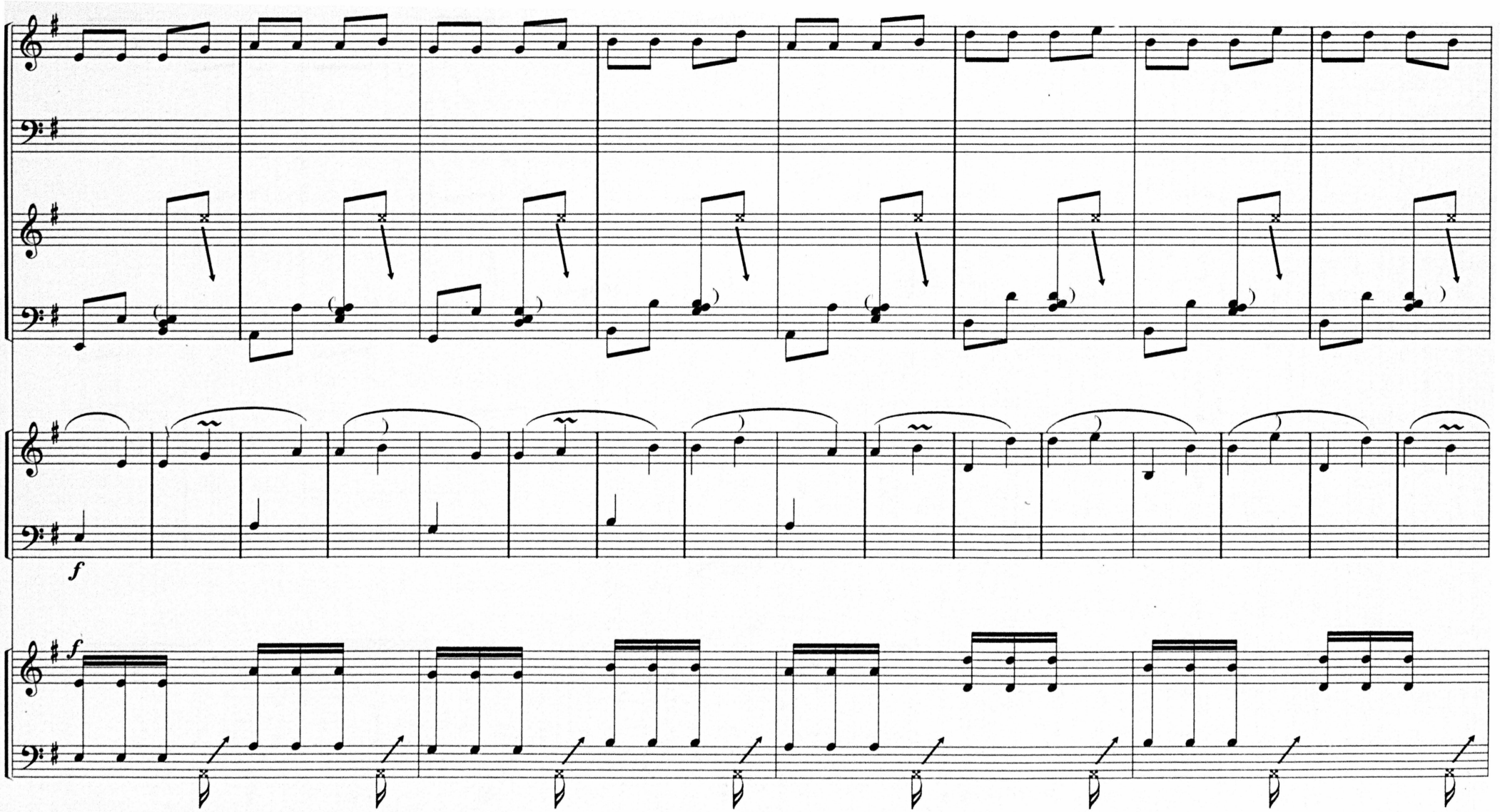

ff
L
R

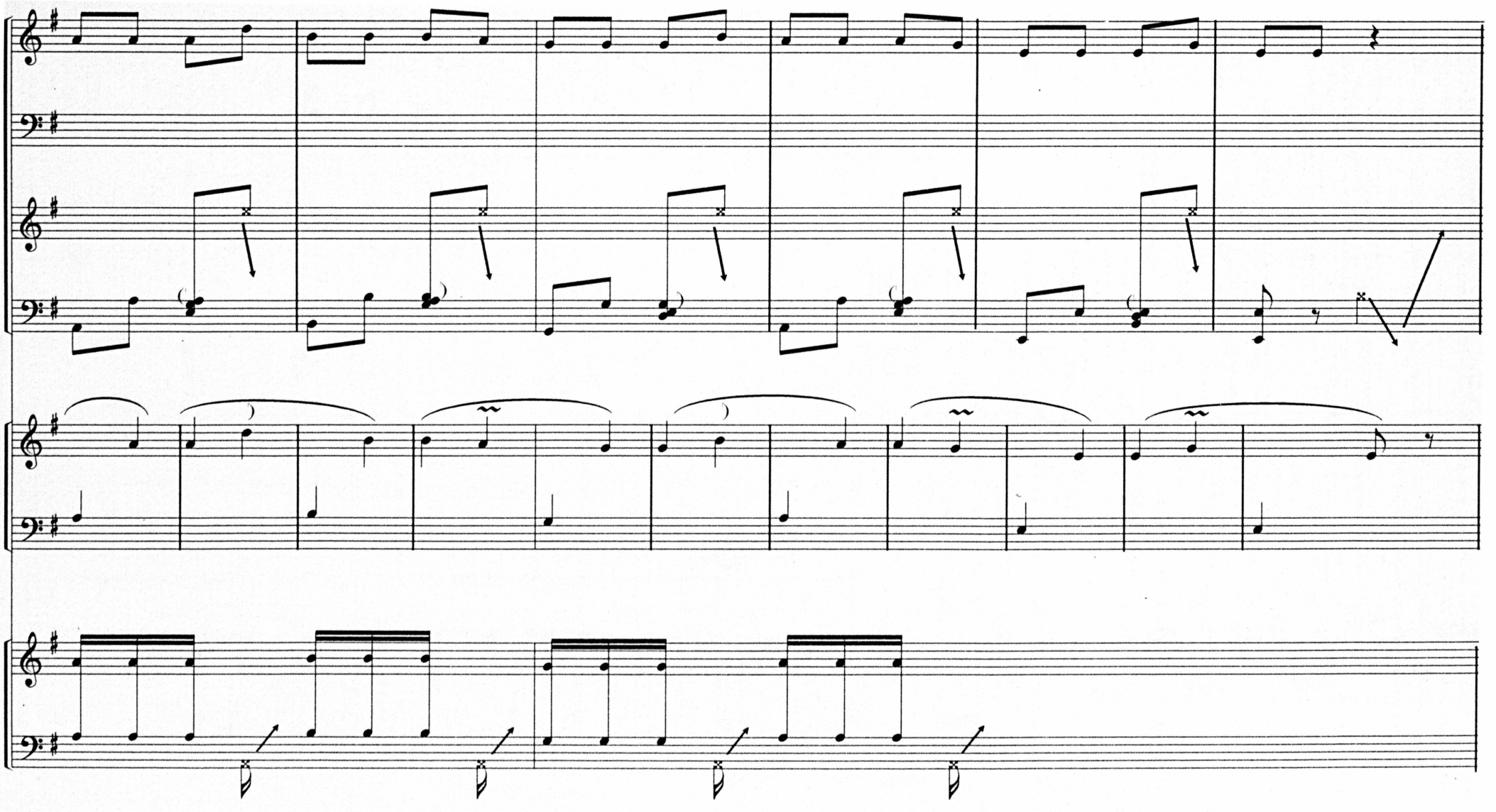

accel.
rit.
(9) Kuannai guizhou lyrical , drifting
begin slowly
gradually faster
mp
p
accel.

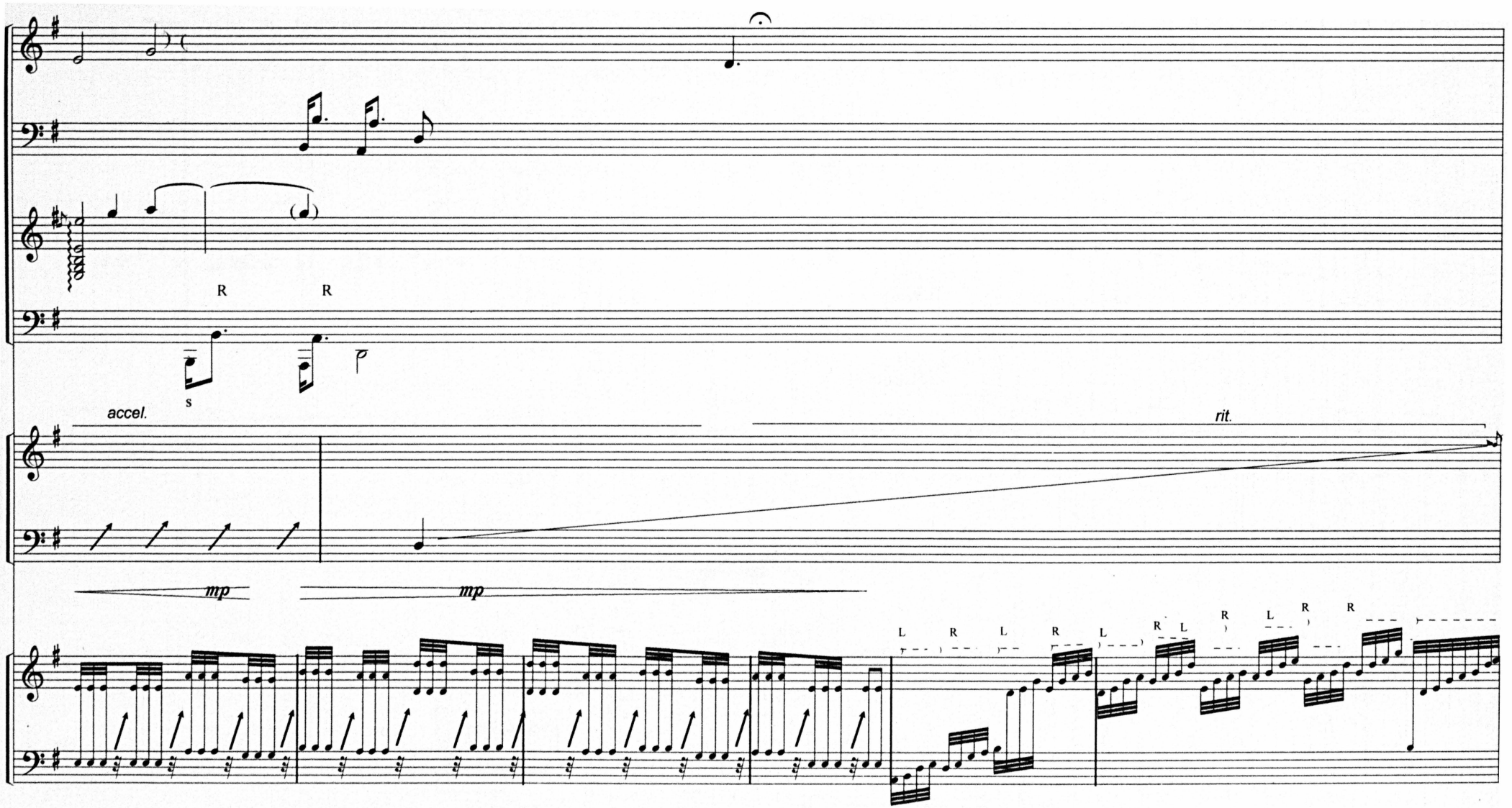

mp

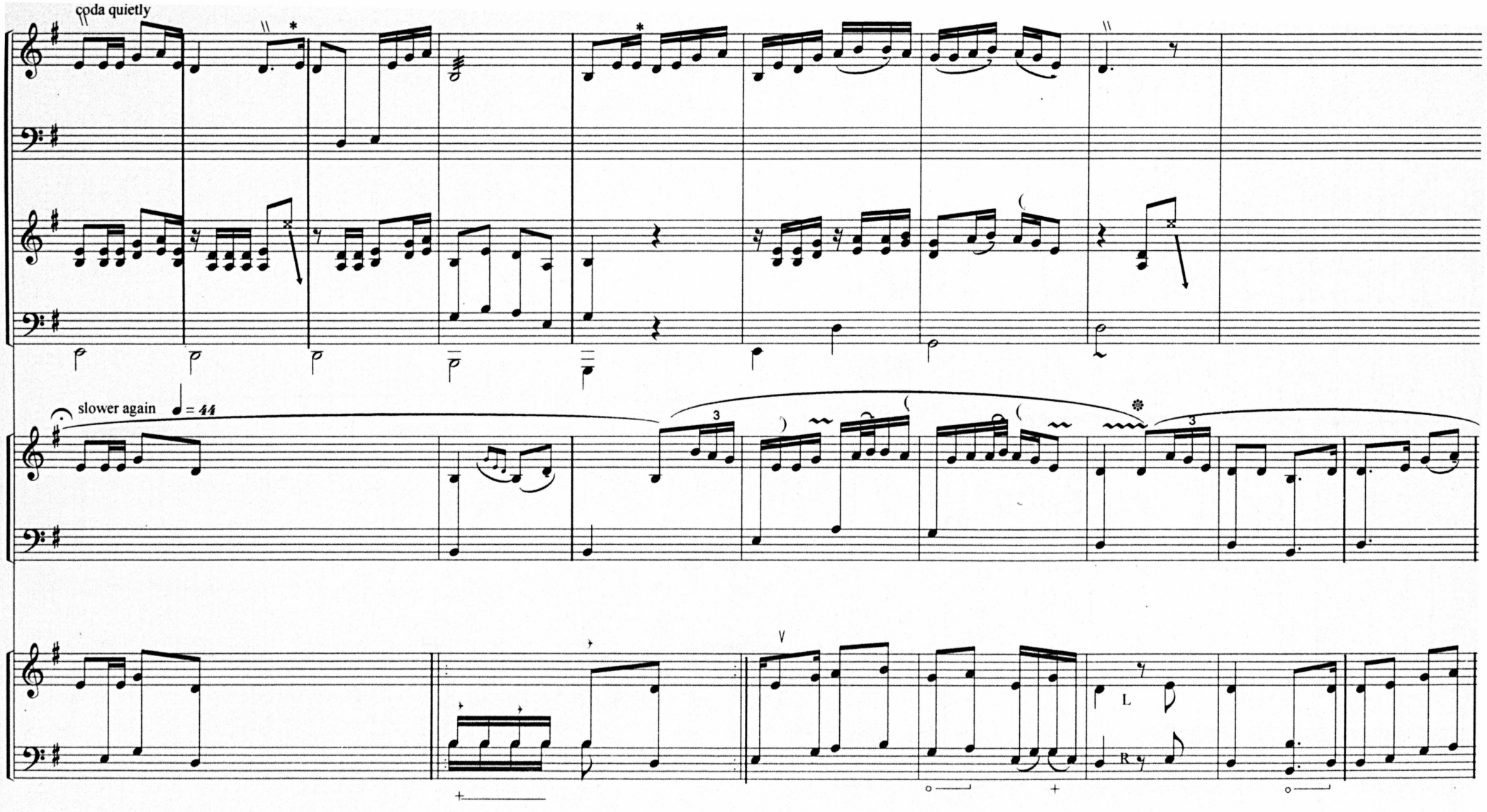

faster

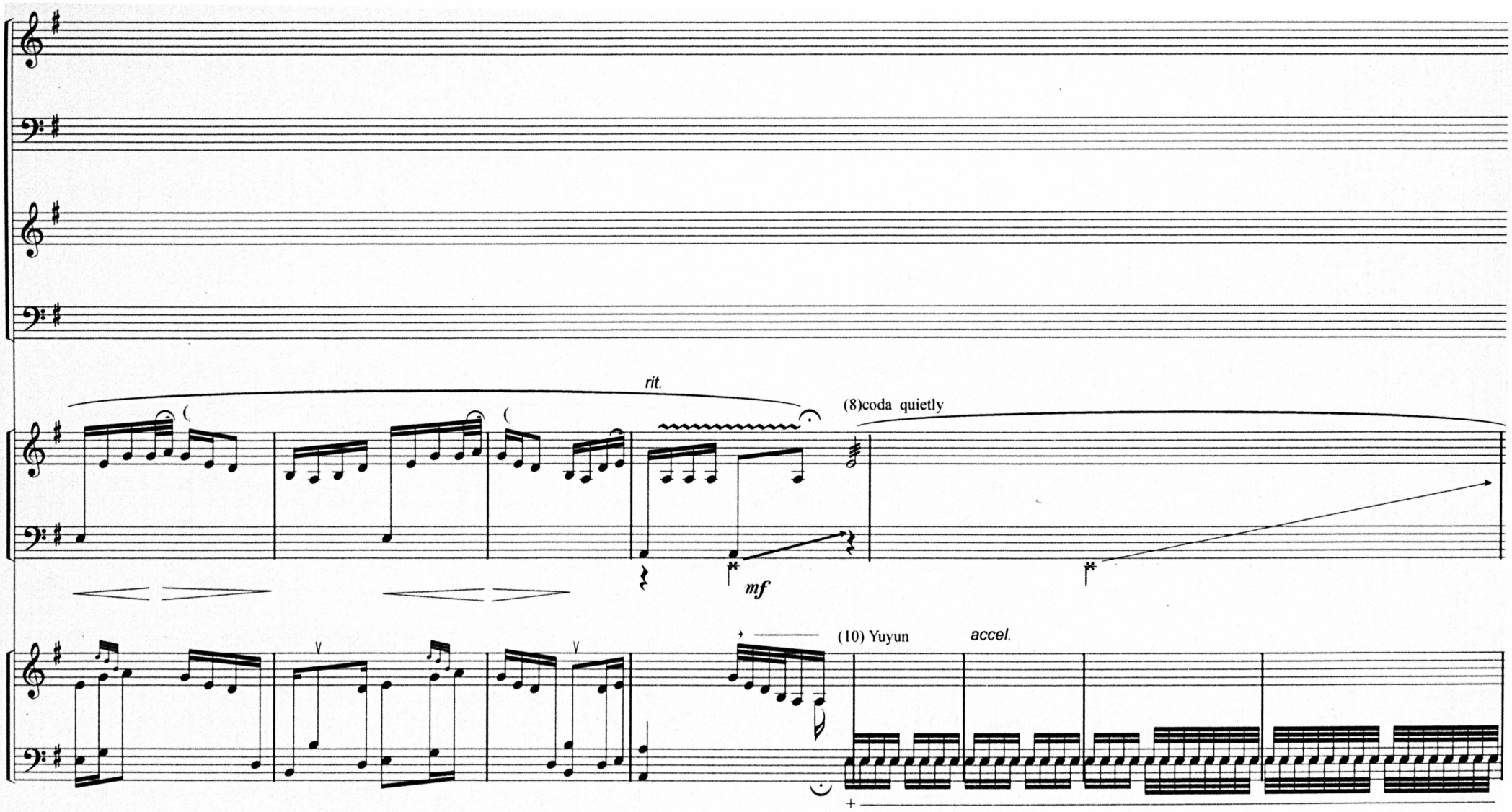

even faster
mf

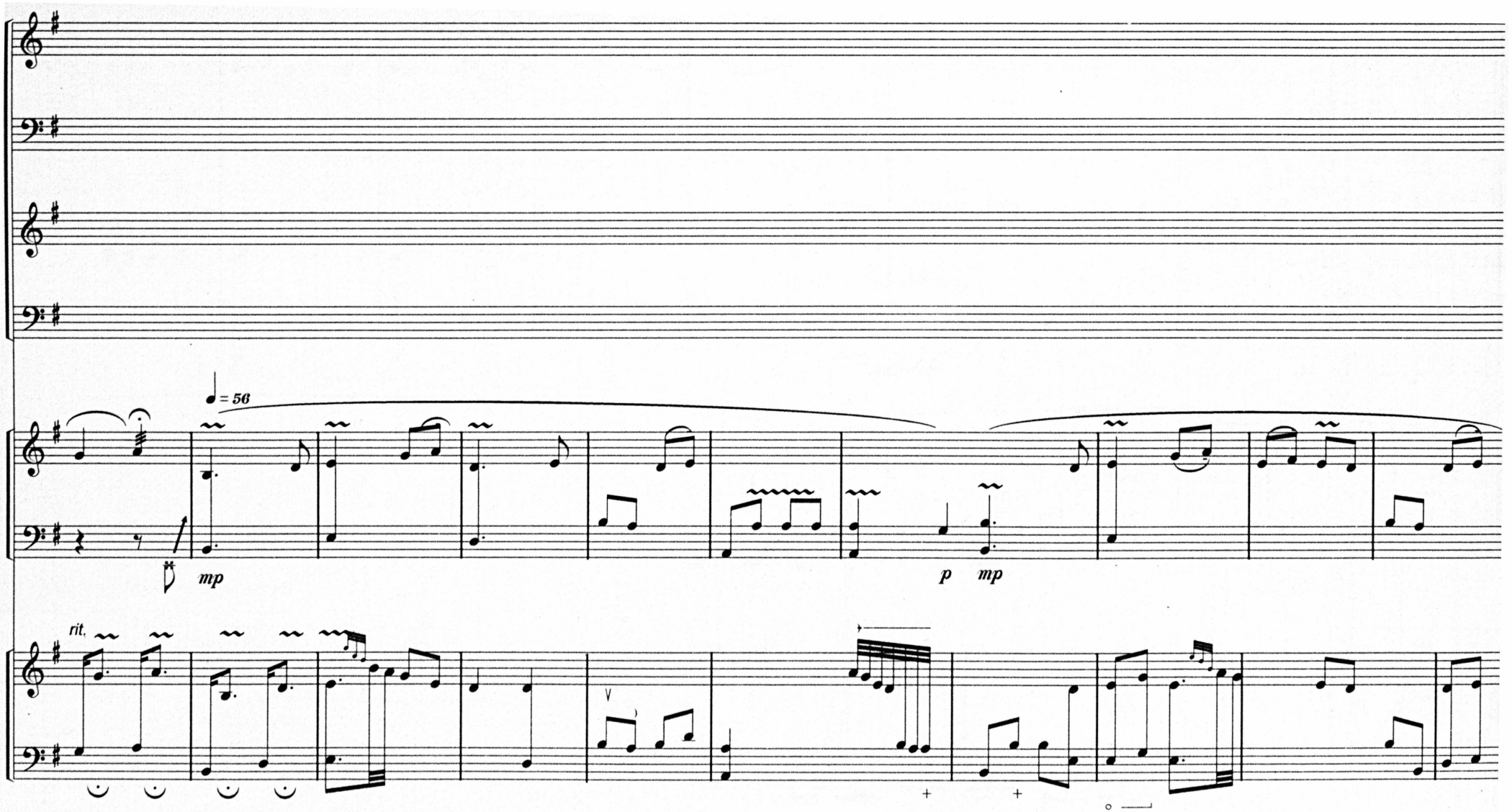

f
f

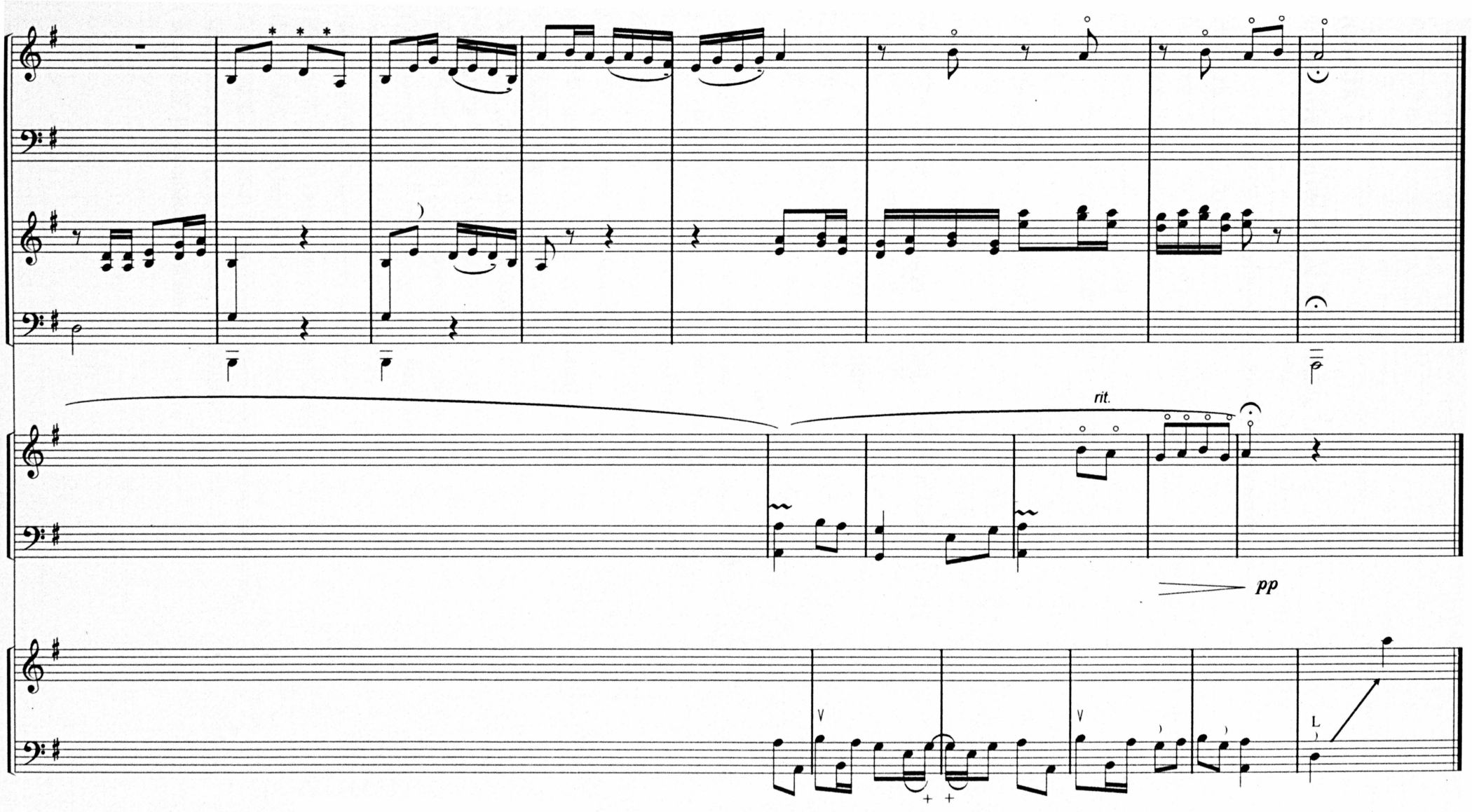



R
R
s
accel.
rit.
mp
mp
L
R
L
R
L
R
L
R
L
R
R


coda quietly
slower again
♩ = 44
3
3
L
R


rit.
(8)coda quietly
mf
(10) Yuyun
accel.


♩= 56
mp
p
mp
rit.


rit.
pp

Appendix D
Glossary of Chinese characters

Ai Tong Alumni 爱同校友会 [Alumini of school in Singapore]
anyin 按音 [zheng technique]
Au Yong Eang 欧阳良荣 [Singapore zheng musician]
badulun 八度轮 [zheng technique]
Bai Juyi 白局易 [Tang dynasty poet]
bantou qu 板头曲 [Mainland musical form]
beiguan 北管 [northern pipes]
Beijing 北京 [capital of the Mainland]
Beizheng Gong 北正宫 [zheng piece]
Bentuhua 本土化 [indigenisation]
Bianjiang Wuqu 边疆舞曲 [zheng piece - Dancing Song at the Frontiers]
budaixi 布袋戏 [puppet show]
Cao Dongfu 曹东扶 [Mainland zheng musician]
Cao Guifen 曹桂 [Mainland zheng musician]
Cao Zheng 曹正 [Mainland zheng musician]
Cao Zhi 曹植 [poet in the Three Kingdoms period]
Caoyuan Shangde Hongweibing Jiandaole Mao Zhuxi 草原上的红卫兵见到了毛主席 [zheng piece - The Red Guard on the Plain saw Chairman Mao]
Caoyuan Xiongying 草原雄鹰 [zheng piece - Eagles on the Plain]
Chan Kwok Hing 陈国兴 [Malaysian zheng musician]
Changsha 长沙 [a place on the Mainland]
Chaoxian 朝鲜 [minority tribe on the Mainland]
chaozheng 朝正 [follow the correct direction]
Chaozhou 潮州 [place in the Mainland]
Ch'en Ch'inglung 陈庆隆 [Taiwanese musician]
Chek Siew Meng 戚兆铭 [Singaporean zheng musician]
Chen Chuanyin 陈传音 [Hong Kong zheng musician]
Chen Guoquan 陈国荃 [Mainland composer]
Chen Haozhu 陈浩注 [Qing dynasty scholar]
Ch'en Hsinhua 陈信华 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Chen Huilan 陈慧兰 [Mainland zheng musician]
Chen Leishi 陈蕾士 (Louis Chen) [Malaysian Chinese zheng musician]
Chen Xingyuan Hefan 陈杏元和番 [zheng piece]
Ch'en Wen 陈雯 [Taiwanese musician]

Cheng Ch'engkung 郑成功 [Ming dynasty general]
Cheng P'eiyi 郑佩仪 [Taiwanese zheng teacher]
Cheng Teyuan 郑德渊 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Ch'engkung Tahsüeh 成功大学 [National Cheng Kung University]
Ch'engta p'ai 成大派 [Ch'engta zheng school]
Chen Xingyuan Luoyuan 陈杏元落院 [zheng piece – The Courtyard]
Chicheng 驰骋 [zheng piece - Speeding]
Chien Hsienkuang 简显光 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Chinch'englien 金城连 [army camp in Taiwan]
Chinmen 金门 (Quemoy)
Chong Fu Alumni 崇福校友会 [alumnus of a school in Singapore]
Chong Yee Music Centre 忠义音乐中心 [zheng music shop in Singapore]
Chou Ying 仇英 [Ming dynasty artist]
Chuang Kuonien 庄国年 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
chuanpu 传谱 [transmitted score]
Chundao Lasa 春到拉萨 [zheng piece - Spring in Lhasa]
Chung Cheng High School 中正民乐队 [Chinese orchestra in Singapore]
Chunghua 中华 [Zheng factory in Taiwan]
Chungkuo Ch'eng 中国城 [shopping centre in Tainan]
Chunjiang Huayueye 春江花月夜 [zheng piece - Flowers by the River at Moonlit Night in Spring]
Chunqiu zhanguo shidai 春秋战国时代 [the Spring and Autumn period]
Chushuilian 出水莲 [zheng piece - The Lotus]
Cui Qi 崔七 [a character in Tang poetry]
Cuo 撮 [zheng technique]
cuoyao 撮摇 [zheng technique]
Dadu He 大肚河 [River Dadu]
Dalu 大陆 [the Mainland]
Danchu 淡出 [faded out]
Danmaxi 淡马锡 [Temasek – old name of Singapore]
Daode Xueshe 道德学社 [a school on the Mainland]
Daoyi Qu 捣衣曲 [zheng piece - Lament of A Washer Woman]
Daoyi Zhilue 岛夷志略 [ancient Chinese text]
dashi 大师 [great teacher]
Dayuejin 大跃进 [the Great Leap Forward]
Dazhu xiaozhu luoyupan 大珠小珠落玉盘 [large pearls and small pearls falling on a jade plate]

Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 [paramount leader of the Mainland]
Dengyue Jiaohui 灯月交辉 [zheng piece - Lanterns and Moonlight Vying for Brilliance]
dianyin 点音 ["point" note]
Dianying Yuetuan 电影乐团 [Film Orchestra]
Dieshi zheng 蝶式箏 [Butterfly zheng]
Ding Boling 丁伯苓 [Mainland composer]
dizi 笛子 [Chinese flute]
Dongbei 东北 [a region on the Mainland]
Dongfang Gewutuan 东方歌舞团 [Oriental Music Troupe]
Donghai Yuge 东海渔歌 [zheng piece - Fisherman's Song at Eastern Sea]
Dongting Xin'ge 洞庭新歌 [zheng piece - The New Song of Dongting]
Dunhuang Tangren Wu 敦煌唐人舞 [Dance of Dunhuang]
Er Woo / *Yuyu Ruyueshe* 余娱儒乐社 [Er Woo Amateur Musical & Dramatic Association]
erhu 二胡 [two-stringed fiddle]
ersipu 二四谱 [one type of Chinese notation]
fan payin 反琶音 [zheng technique]
Fan Shang'e 范上娥 [Mainland zheng musician]
Fang Zhixun 方智训 [Mainland composer]
Fangzhi Mang 纺织忙 [zheng piece - Busy Weaving]
fanyin 泛音 [zheng technique]ManmM
Fengshou Luogu 丰收锣鼓 [zheng piece - Harvest Drums]
Fenqi Zhige 奋起之歌 [zheng piece - Song of Dilligence]
Fu Jichun 符绩淳 [zheng student in Singapore]
Fu Xuan 傅玄 [a scholar in ancient China]
Fujian 福建 [a region on the Mainland]
fuzhi 拂指 [zheng technique]
Fuzhou Minzu Yueqi Youxian Gongsi 福州民族乐器有限公司 [Fuzhou National Musical Instruments Ltd.]
gaibian 改编 [rearranged]
Gangshui Benliu 钢水奔流 [zheng piece - Running of the Steel Flow]
gangzhi zheng 港智箏 [a brand of zheng]
Gao Zicheng 高自成 [Mainland zheng musician]
Gaoshan Liushui 高山流水 [zheng piece - High Mountain Flowing Stream]
Gaoyang 高阳 [a place in China]
Gezaixi 歌仔戏 [native opera of Taiwan]
Goh Ek Meng 吴奕明 [Singaporean *pipa* musician]
Goh Eng Chang 吴膺赞 [Singaporean *pipa* musician]

gongfei 共匪 [Communist robbers]
gong 宫 [note on ancient musical scale]
gongchepu 工尺谱 [one type of Chinese musical notation]
gou 勾 [zheng technqiue]
Guangbo Wengongtuan 广播文工团 [Broadcast Cultural Group]
Guangdong 广东 [a province on the Mainland]
Guangxi Yishu Xueyuan 广西艺术学院 [Guangxi Arts Academy]
Guanshan Yue 关山月 [zheng piece - The Moon in Guan Shan]
guazou 刮奏 [zheng technique]
Guiyang Yaji 贵阳雅集 [gathering in Guiyang]
Guixixian 贵溪县 [a place on the Mainland]
Guo Jiguang 郭绩光 [original name of Cao Zheng]
Guo Ying 郭鹰 [Mainland zheng musician]
Guomindang 国民党 [Nationalist Party]
guqin 古琴 [*qin* - ancient instrument]
guzheng 古箏 [zheng]
Guzheng Xinyun 古箏新韵 [New Expressions of Zheng]
Hai'ou 海鸥 [Taiwanese pop song - Seagull]
Haiqing Natian'e 海青拿天鹅 [zheng piece - Falcon Catching a Swan]
Haiwai 海外 [overseas]
Han 汉 [dynasty of China or majority race on the Mainland]
Han Tinggui 韩庭贵 [Mainland zheng musician]
Han Yu 韩愈 [scholar of ancient China]
Handai Zaji ji Banzou Yuedui 汉代杂技及伴奏乐队 [Han dynasty porcelain sculptures of acrobat troupe and accompanying musicians]
Handiao 汉调 [Kejia music]
Hangong Qiuyue 汉宫秋月 [zheng piece – Moon in Autumn at the Han dynasty palace]
Hangzhou 杭州 [a city on the Mainland]
Hanjiang Sizhu 汉江丝竹 [Silk and Bamboo Music of River Han]
Hanya Xishui 寒鸦戏水 [zheng piece - Winter Crows Playing in Water]
Hanyue 汉乐 [Kejia music]
he 河 [river]
He Baoquan 何宝全 [Mainland zheng musician]
He Xiaotong 何小彤 [Mainland zheng musician]
Hebei 河北 [province on the Mainland]
hefan 和番 [to appease the barbarians]
Heilongjiang 黑龙江 [province on the Mainland]

Henan 河南 [province on the Mainland]
Henan dadiao 河南大调 [a musical form on the Mainland]
Heze 菏泽 [a county in Shandong province]
Hon Seewah 项斯华 [zheng musician]
Hong Kong 香港
Hongsheng Guoyueqi Gongyishe 宏声国乐器工艺社 [Hongsheng national musical instruments factory]
Hou 厚 [thick – description of zheng sound quality]
Hsinghsien Chinienjih 行宪纪念日 [Constitution Memorial Day]
Hu Bingxu 胡柄旭 [Mainland musician]
Huang Haoyin 黄好吟 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Huang Jinliang 黄锦亮 [Singaporean zheng musician]
Huang Meich'in 黄美琴 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Huangpu Junxiao 黄埔军校 [military academy on the Mainland]
huayin 滑音 [zheng technique]
Huayin Yinyue Zhongxin 华音音乐中心 [the music shop of Huayin]
Huayue Diao 花月调 [zheng piece - Melody of Flowers and Moon]
Huayue Jie 华乐节 [Chinese Music Festival]
Huazhi 划指 [zheng technique]
Hubei 湖北 [province on the Mainland]
Hunan 湖南 [province on the Mainland]
Hung Yingju 洪莹如 [piano teacher at Huayin music centre in Tainan]
huowu 活五 [a type of musical scale]
Jianchang Yue 建昌月 [zheng piece]
jiang 江 [river]
Jiangsu 江苏 [province on the Mainland]
Jiangxi 江西 [province on the Mainland]
jiatanfa 夹弹法 [zheng technique]
Jiaochuang Yeyu 蕉窗夜雨 [zheng piece - Banana Tree by the Window on Rainy Night]
Jiaoshou 教授 [professor]
Jiexian Zhuandiaozheng 截弦转调箏 [The "cut-off string" modulated zheng]
Jiji Gu 唧唧咕 [zheng pience - On bird sounds]
Jilin 吉林 [province on the Mainland]
Jin 金 [a dynasty of China]
Jindai Zouyuetu 晋代奏乐图 [Jin dynasty drawing of music performance]
jing 境 [environment]
Jinping Mei 金瓶梅 [Golden Lotus - ancient Chinese novel]

Jue 角 [note on one type of Chinese musical scale]
Kang Le 康乐音乐研究会 [a music group in Singapore]
Kangshan 冈山 [a place in Taiwan]
Kaohsiung 高雄 [a city in Taiwan]
Karl Heng 嘉兴 [a Chinese instrument shop in Singapore]
Kejia 客家 [an ethnic group]
K'enting 恳丁 [a place in Taiwan]
Koh Siew Huat 许秀发 [Singaporean musician]
Kong 空 [hollow – zheng sound quality]
Kongque Dongnan Fei 孔雀东南飞 [zheng piece - The Peacock Flies Southeast]
kou 扣 [zheng technique]
Ku Zhou Yu 哭周俞 [zheng piece - Crying for Zhou Yu]
kuai sidian 快四点 [zheng technique]
kuonei 国内 [domestic]
kuoyue 国乐 [National Music]
K'ungtzu Tanch'en Chinienjih 孔子诞辰纪念日 [Confucius birthday]
Lat Pau 叻报 [obsolete newspaper in Singapore]
Lee Kuan Yew 李光耀 [former prime minister of Singapore]
Li Shangyin 李商隐 [poet in ancient China]
Li Shutong 李叔同 [Mainland composer]
Li Si 李斯 [minister of the Kingdom of Qin]
Li Xueqin 李雪芹 [Mainland zheng musician]
Li Yi 李毅 [Mainland musician]
Lian Yoong Liang 连荣史 [Singapore zheng musician]
Liang Mingyue 梁铭越 [Taiwanese musician]
Liang Qichao 梁启超 [scholar in Qing dynasty]
Liang Tsaip'ing 梁在平 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Liang Tsaip'ing Jiaoshou & Liang Mingyue Boshi Qin Zheng Xinshanghui 梁在平教授 & 梁铭越博士 琴箏欣赏会 [Concert for the Appreciation of *qin* and *zheng* by Prof. Liang Tsaip'ing and Dr. Liang Mingyue]
Liang Zhu 梁祝 [zheng piece - The Butterfly Lovers]
Lianhe Zaobao 联合早报 [Singapore Chinese newspaper]
Liaocheng 聊城 [a place on the Mainland]
Liaoning 辽宁 [province on the Mainland]
Liao Wenchang 廖文章 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Liaozhai 聊斋 [ancient Chinese novel]
Lijing Ji 荔镜记 [ancient Chinese opera]

Lin Ling 林玲 [Mainland zheng musician]
Lin Yonghong 林永宏 [Malaysia musician]
Lin Zi 临淄 [a place on the Mainland]
Linchong Yeben 林冲夜奔 [Lin Chong Hurrying at Night]
Lingyamen 凌牙门 [ancient name of Singapore]
Lim Min Kiam 林明谦 [Singaporean musician]
Liu Bang 刘邦 [founding emperor of Han dynasty]
Liu Qingnian 刘青娘 [zheng piece]
Liu Tieshan 刘铁山 [Mainland composer]
Liu Yichih 刘毅志 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Liu Yuxi 刘禹锡 [a scholar in ancient China]
Liupai 流派 [school of musical style]
Liuyang He 浏阳河 [zheng piece - River Liu Yang]
Liyuan Tang 梨园堂 [opera group in Singapore]
Longyamen 龙牙门 [place name in ancient Singapore]
Lou Shuhua 娄树华 [Mainland zheng musician]
Lü dao 绿岛 [an island of Taiwan]
Lu Xiutang 陆修棠 [Mainland composer]
Lunyu 论语 [The Analects]
lunzhi 轮指 [zheng and *pipa* technique]
Luoyang 洛阳 [a place on the Mainland]
Luoyuan 落院 [The Courtyard]
Luo Guanzhong 罗贯中 [novelist in ancient China]
Luo Jiuxiang 罗九香 [Mainland zheng musician]
Ma Wangdui 马王堆 [archaeological excavation site on the Mainland]
Mang Choon Hong 望春风 [Taiwanese folk song - Waiting for the Spring Wind]
Manzhou 满洲 [Manchuria]
Mao Zedong 毛泽东 [the founding chairman of Chinese Communist Party]
Mao Yuan 茅元 [Mainland composer]
Meihua Sannong 梅花三弄 [zheng and *qin* piece - Plum Blossom]
Meixian 梅县 [a region on the Mainland]
Menggu 蒙古 [Mongolia]
Miluo Jiang Huanxiangqu 汨罗江幻想曲 [zheng piece - Fantasy on the Miluo River]
Minquan Lu 民权路 [a road in Taiwan]
Ming 明 [a dynasty of China]
Minnan 闽南 [region on the Mainlnad]
Minnanyu 闽南语 [Minnanese dialect]

Minzheng 闽筝 [zheng of Minnan]
miyao 密摇 [zheng technique]
mo 抹 [zheng technique]
Moli Hua 茉莉花 [Chinese folk song - Jasmine Flower]
Nanbeipai Shisantao Daqu Pipa Xinpu 南北派十三套大曲琵琶新谱 [New Scores for Thirteen Pipa Pieces of the North and South Schools]
nanguan 南管 [southern pipes]
Nanhai Yuge 南海渔歌 [zheng piece - South Sea Fishermen's Songs]
Nanjing 南京 [a city on the Mainlnad]
Nanjing Guoli Yinyue Xueyuan 南京国立音乐学院 [Nanjing National Music Conservatory]
Nanjing yaji 南京雅集 [gathering in Nanjing]
Nanyang Keshu Zonghui 南洋客属总会 [Nanyang Khek - a clan association in Singapore]
NaoYuanxiao 闹元宵 [zheng piece - Celebration of the Lantern Festival]
National Theatre 国家剧场艺术团 [concert hall in Singapore]
Nianyi Xian Guzheng Mingqu Sanshisan shou 廿一弦古箏名曲三十三首 [33 Famous Zheng Pieces]
Ng Liat Chow 黄若俊 [Singaporean musician]
Nüwang Ch'angp'ien 女王唱片 [Queens Record]
Ouyang Xiu 欧阳修 [poet in ancient China]
paizi qu 牌子曲
payin 琶音 [zheng technique]
Peishi Kuoyue 北市国乐 [National Music of Taipei]
Peng Guangfu 彭光甫 [Malaysian zheng musician]
Peng Xiuwen 彭修文 [Mainland musician]
pi 劈 [zheng technique]
Pingsha Luoyan 平沙落雁 [zheng piece - Geese Landing on Flat Sand]
pinyin 拼音 romanisation]
Pingze 平仄 [rule for composing ancient Chinese poetry]
pipa 琵琶 [Chinese lute]
Pu Songling 蒲崧龄 [novelist in ancient China]
putonghua 普通话 (Mandarin)
Qi 齐 [kingdom in Warring States period]
Qi Yan Hui 泣颜回 [zheng piece - Crying for Yan Hui]
Qianri pipa bairi zheng 千日琵琶百日箏 [thousand days *pipa*, hundred days zheng]
qin 琴 [musical instrument]
Qin 秦 [first dynasty of China]

Qin Guo 秦国 [the Kingdom of Qin]
qin sheng 秦声 [the sound of Qin]
Qin Zheng 秦箏 [zheng]
Qin zheng pai 秦箏派 [Xi'an zheng school]
Qinyun 琴韵 [music of the *qin*]
Qinzheng Lunwen Yantaohui 琴箏论文研讨会 [Workshop on zheng writings]
Qing 清 [a dynasty of China]
Qing Fengnian 庆丰年 [zheng piece - Celebrating a Year of Good Harvest]
Qingjiang Fangpai 清江放排 [zheng piece - Rafting in the Qing River]
Qingjing Sanzhang 情景三章 [zheng piece - Beautiful Scenes: Three Movements]
qinliu 轻六 [a type of scale]
Qiu Dacheng 邱大成 [Mainland zheng musician]
Qixi Yin 七夕吟 [zheng piece - Recital on the Chinese Valentine Day]
Qu Yuan 屈原 [poet and patriot of ancient China]
qupai 曲牌 [a musical form]
Ren Qingzhi 任清之 [Mainland zheng musician]
Renmin Xingdong Dang 人民行动党 [People's Action Party (PAP)]
rouyin 揉音 [zheng technique]
ruan 阮 [Chinese musical instrument]
Ruan Yu 阮禹 [musician in ancient China]
rou 揉 [zheng technique]
San Chuci 散楚词 [zheng piece]
Sanguo Yanyi 三国演义 [Story of the Three Kingdoms – ancient novel]
Sanmin Lu 三民路 [name of road in Taiwan]
Sanmin Zhuyi 三民主义 [Three Principles of the People]
Sanxia 三峡 [Three Gorges – a place on the Mainland]
sanzhi yao 三指摇 [zheng technique]
saoyao sidian 扫摇四点 [zheng technique]
saoyin 扫音 [zheng technique]
Se 瑟 [Chinese instrument]
Shaanxi 陕西 [province on the Mainland]
Shandong 山东 [a region on the Mainland]
Shandong qinshu 山东琴书
Shandongpai 山东派 [Shandong zheng school]
shang 商 [note on a type of Chinese musical scale]
shang huayin 上滑音 [zheng technique]
Shanghai 上海 [a city on the Mainland]

Shanghai Yinyue Xueyuan Fuzhong 上海音乐学院附中 [high school affiliated to the Shanghai Music Conservatory]
Shanghai Yinyue Xueyuan 上海音乐学院 [Shanghai Music Conservatory]
Shang Lou 上楼 [zheng piece - Going Upstairs]
Shanmei 山魅 [zheng piece - Mountain Ghost]
Shantou 汕头 [a region on the Mainland]
Shanxi 山西 [province on the Mainland]
Shaobing Youtiao 烧饼油条 [zheng piece - Fried Pancakes]
shaoyao sidian 扫摇四点 [zheng technique]
shayin 煞音 [zheng technique]
Shen Liliang 沈立良 [Mainland musician]
Shen Yue 沈约 [scholar of ancient China]
Sheng 笙 [Chinese instrument]
Shi Zhaoyuan 史兆元 [Mainland musician]
shifu 师父 [teacher]
Shih Ch'ingchieh 施清介 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Shih Wenyao 施文耀 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Shihfu 师父 [Teacher]
Shiji 史记 [Records of the Historian – Chinese classic]
Shijing 诗经 [Book of Poems - Chinese classic]
Shisanxian Muqin 十三弦木琴 [musical instrument]
Shizhiyao 食指摇 [zheng technique]
shuang sidian 双食点 [zheng technique]
shuangzhi yao 双指摇 [zheng technique]
Shuhuai Qu 舒怀曲 [zheng technique - Song of the Heart]
Shuihu Zhuan 水浒传 [The Water Margin – ancient novel]
Shuyun 书韵 [zheng piece]
Sichuan 四川 [province on the Mainland]
Singapore 新加坡
Sishu 四书 [Four Books - Chinese classic]
sizhi yao 四指摇 [zheng technique]
sizhuyue 丝竹乐 [Silk and Bamboo music]
Song 宋 [a dynasty of China]
Songdai Zouyuetu 宋代奏乐图 [Song dynasty drawing of music performance]
Songliang 送粮 [zheng piece - On the Way to the Granary]
Soo Xiang Key 思想起 [Taiwanese folk song - Remembrance]
Sui 隋 [a dynasty of China]

Sun Yatsen 孙逸仙 [father of modern China]
Suzhou 苏州 [a city on the Mainland]
Tainan 台南 [a city in Taiwan]
Tainan Kaishanlu Tianzhu Jiaotang 台南开山天主教堂 [the Catholic church at Kaishan Road in Tainan]
Tainan *Wenhua Zhongxin* 台南文化中心 [Tainan Cultural Centre]
T'an Chungch'üan 谭中权 [boss of Huayin music centre]
T'aita 台大 [National Taiwan University]
Taiwan 台湾
Tan Chin Huat 陈振发 [Singaporean zheng musician]
Tan Han Chang 陈汉章 [Singaporean musician]
Tan Kee Han 陈启汉[Singaporean *sanxian* musician]
Tan Yan Hui 叹颜回 [zheng piece]
Tanchiang Tahsüeh 淡江大学 [Tamkang University in Taiwan]
Tang 唐 [a dynasty of China]
Tangdai Gongyuetu 唐代宫乐图 [Tang dynasty drawing of music performance in the palace]
Tangshi Sanbaishou 唐诗三百首 [Three hundred Tang dynasty poems]
Tanzheng fenyixiang, xinsheng miaorushen 弹筝奋逸响，新声妙入神 [ancient poem]
Tay Teow Kiat 郑朝吉 [Singaporean musician]
Thau Yong / *Tao Rong Ruyueshe* 陶融儒乐社 [opera group in Singapore]
Thau Yong / *Tao Rong Ruyueshe Minyuedui* 陶融儒乐社民乐队 [music group in Singapore]
Thum Soon Boon 谭春文 [Singaporean zheng musician]
ti 剔 [zheng technique]
Tianjin Yinyue Xueyuan 天津音乐学院 [Tianjin Music Conservatory]
Tianshang Renjian 天上人间 [zheng piece - Paradise]
tiao 挑 [zheng technique]
Ting Oh Oh 天黑黑 [Taiwanese folk song - The Sky is Dark]
Tingyuan Shenshen 庭院深深 [Taiwanese pop song - Deep in the House Garden]
titanfa 提弹法 [zheng technique]
tong zheng 铜筝 [a type of zheng]
Touliu 斗六 [a place in Taiwan]
Ts'aoling 草岭 [a place in Taiwan]
Tsehsi Kuchengshe 泽溪古筝社 [Tse Hsi Zheng Society]
tuo 托 [zheng technique]
Tz'u-yuan 词渊 [dictionary]
Waijiang 外江 [Kejia music]

Wang Ch'ineng 王启能 [Taiwanese guitar teacher]
Wang Changyuan 王昌元 [Mainland zheng musician]
Wang Dianyu 王殿玉 [Mainland musician]
Wang Huiran 王惠然 [Mainland musician]
Wang Hsun 王珣 [Mainland zheng musician]
Wang Shu 王树 [Mainland composer]
Wang Wei 王维 [poet in ancient China]
Wang Wenlong 王文隆 [Taiwanese *erhu* musician]
Wang Xunzhi 王巽之 [Mainland zheng musician]
Wei Ch'iunghua 魏琼华 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Wei Taohua 魏道华 [Taiwanese zheng musician and maker]
Wei Taomou 魏道谋 [Taiwanese zheng musician and maker]
Wei Tei-Don 魏德栋 [Taiwanese zheng musician]
Weijin Nanbei Chao 魏晋南北朝 [Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties]
Wenhua Dageming 文化大革命 [the Cultural Revolution]
Wenhua Tahsüeh 文化大学 [Chinese Culture University, Taiwan]
Wen Weizhen 文伟珍 [zheng musician in Hong Kong]
Wu 吴 [one of the kingdoms during the Three Kingdoms period]
Wubeizhi 武备志 [ancient Chinese text]
Wudai 五代 [Five dynasties]
Wushant'ou Shuik'u 乌山头水库 [a place in Taiwan]
Wusuli Chuange 乌苏里船歌 [Chinese folk song - The Boat Song at the River of Ussuri]
Wutong 梧桐 [paulownia wood]
Wuxi 无锡 [a place on the Mainland]
Wuxia 巫峡 [One of the Three Gorges – see *Sanxia*]
Wuying 无影 [archaeological excavation site on the Mainland]
xi 溪 [brook]
xia huayin 下滑音 [zheng technique]
Xi'an 西安 [a city on the Mainland]
Xi'an guyue 西安鼓乐 [drum music of Xi'an]
Xi'an Yinyue Xueyuan 西安音乐学院 [Xi'an Music Conservatory]
Xiandai zhengyue 现代箏乐 [modern zheng music]
Xiang Yu 项羽 [famous general in ancient China]
Xianggang Yanyi xueyuan 香港演艺学院 [Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts]
Xiangyun Yinyue Wenjiaoshe 乡韵音乐文教社 [Tainan music shop]
Xiansuo Shisantao 弦索十三套 [an ancient music score]
Xianyan 仙岩 [archaeological excavation site on the Mainland]

Xiao Youmei 萧友梅 [Mainland musician]
Xin Kaiban 新开板 [zheng piece]
Xingfu Qushui 幸福渠水 [zheng piece - Water from the Drain of Happiness]
Xinjiang 新疆 [province on the Mainland]
Xinxing Zhuandiaozheng 新型转调箏 [The new model of modulated zheng]
Xinyuan 心愿 [zheng piece - A Wish]
Xiong Yue 熊岳 [Mainland zheng musician]
Xiyang Xiaogu 夕阳箫鼓 [*pipa* piece - Flute and Drums at Dusk]
Xizang 西藏 [Tibet]
Xu Lingzi 许菱子 [Mainland zheng muscian]
Xu Xiaolin 徐晓林 [Mainland composer]
Xu Zhenggao 徐振高 [Mainland zheng maker]
Xuan Zong 玄宗 [emperor in the Tang dynasty]
xuanwan yao 悬腕摇 [zheng technique]
Xueyi Chubanshe 学艺出版社 [publisher in Taiwan]
Xunyang Pipa 浔阳琵琶 [*pipa* piece - Pipa of Xunyang]
Xunyang Yeyue 浔阳夜月 [*pipa* piece - Moonlit Night in Xunyang]
Yan Jidao 晏几道 [a poet in ancient China]
Yan Hui 颜回 [a student of Confucius]
Yan'an 延安 [a place on the Mainland]
Yang Dajun 杨大钧 [Mainland professor of the China Music Conservatory]
Yang Ch'unk'un 杨春坤 (Yang Ronghui)
Yang Ronghui 杨荣惠 [zheng teacher in Taiwan]
Yang Ronghui Shisheng Zhengyue Yanzouhui 杨荣惠师生箏乐演奏会 [Yang Ronghui Teacher and Students Zheng Concert]
Yangguan Sandie 阳关三叠 [*qin* / zheng piece - Song at Yangguan]
Yangqin 扬琴 [hammered dulcimer]
Yangzheng Xuanpu 养正轩谱 [Scores of Yangzheng Xuan]
Yangzhou 扬州 [a city on the Mainland]
Yaozhi 摇指 [zheng technique]
Yaozu Wuqu 瑶族舞曲 [zheng piece - Dancing Song of the Yao People]
Yeo Siew Wee 杨秀伟 [the owner of Karl Heng Enterprise in Singapore]
Yi 意 [feeling]
Yi Guren 忆故人 [zheng piece - Remembering an Old Friend]
Yijing 易经 [classical Chinese text]
Yijing 意境 [feeling]
Yin 吟 [zheng technique]

Yin Qun 尹群 [Mainland zheng musician]
Yingkou Manzhou yueqichang 营口满洲乐器厂 [Ying Kou Manchuria Musical Instrument Factory]
Yingxiongmen Zhansheng Dadu He 英雄们战胜大度河 [Victory of the Heroes at River Dadu]
Yinhe Bipo 银河碧波 [zheng piece - Blue Waves of the Milky Way]
yinyin 吟音 [zheng technique]
Yinyueying 音乐营 [Music Camp]
Yizhu Zhuandiaozheng 移柱转调筝 [The movable bridge modulated zheng]
Yizu Wuqu 彝族舞曲 [zheng piece - Dancing Song of the Yi Nationality]
Youlan 幽兰 [ancient *qin* piece]
youyao 游摇 [zheng technique]
Youyi Shangdian 友谊商店 [Friendship Store]
Yu 羽 [note on ancient musical scale]
Yu 竽 [ancient sheng]
Yu Meiren 虞美人 [wife of Xiang Yu]
Yuan 元 [a dynasty of China]
Yuan Haowen 元好问 [a scholar in ancient China]
Yue'er Gao 月儿高 [zheng piece - The Moon is High]
Yuetao Xiang Man Yuetaoshan 月桃香满月桃山 [zheng piece-The Fragrance of the Moon Plum Filling the Yuetao Mountain]
yuetuan 乐团 [Music Group, or Chinese Orchestra]
Yule Tang 育乐堂 [an auditorium in Taiwan]
Yun 韵 [feeling, expressed by *anyin*]
yunwei 韵味 [feeling]
Yuqiao Wenda 渔樵问答 [zheng piece - A Dialogue between a Fisherman and a Wood Cutter]
Yuzhou Changwan 渔舟唱晚 [zheng piece - Fishermen's Song at Night]
Zeng Houyi 曾侯乙墓 [archaeological excavation site on the Mainland]
Zhan Taifeng 战台风 [zheng piece - Battling Against the Typhoon]
Zhang Lufen 张路芬 [Mainland zheng musician]
Zhang Yan 张燕 [Mainland zheng musician]
Zhanguo Ce 战国策 [Records of the Warring States]
Zhanguo Shidai 战国时代 [the Warring States period]
zhanyin 颤音 [zheng technique]
Zhao Yuzhai 赵玉斋 [Mainland zheng musician]
Zhejiang 浙江 [a place on the Mainland]
Zhejiang Chao 浙江潮 [Mainland music group]

Zhejiangpai 浙江派 [Zhejiang zheng school]
Zheng 争 [to fight over something]
Zheng 箏 [zheng]
Zheng He 郑和 [Ming dynasty official]
zheng payin 正琶音 [zheng technique]
Zheng Yingsun 郑颖孙 [Mainland musician]
Zhengqu Xuan 箏曲选 [a collection of zheng notation]
Zhengshe Zhounianqing 箏社周年庆 [Annual Concert of Yang's zheng class]
Zhi 徵 [note on ancient musical scale]
zhong 重 [heavy – a zheng sound quality]
Zhongguo Changpian Gongsi 中国唱片公司 [China Record Company]
zhongguo dalu 中国大陆 [Mainland China]
Zhongguo Guzheng Yishu Xueshu Jiaoliu Hui 中国古箏艺术学术交流会 [Chinese zheng conference]
Zhongguo Yingkou Dongbei yueqi gongsi 中国营口东北乐器公司 [China Yingkou Dongbei music instrumental company]
Zhongguo Yinyue Xueyuan 中国音乐学院 [China Music Conservatory]
Zhonghua Yueqi 中华乐器 [Zhonghua musical instrument]
zhongliu 重六 [a type of scale]
Zhongyang Yinyue Xueyuan 中央音乐学院 [Central Music Conservatory]
Zhongzhou Guqu 中州古曲 [a form of Chinese music]
Zhou Yanjia 周延甲 [Mainland zheng musician]
Zhou Yu 周俞 [a general in ancient China]
zhu 筑 [ancient instrument]
Zhu Ripan 朱日潘 [Ming dynasty poet]
Zhufanzhi 诸蕃志 [ancient Chinese text]
Zhuo 浊 [murky – zheng sound quality]

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1946 Lian Zaiping - *Zheng Notation*

1946 Cao Zheng - *Guzheng Notation*

1950 Cao Zheng - *The Guzheng Notation for the Masses*

1953 Cao Zheng - *Music of the Shandong Qin*

1954 Cao Dongfu & Cao Zheng - *Etudes for the Guzheng*

1954 Cao Zheng - *Selected Music for the Guzheng*

1955 Jiang Ping - *Performance Techniques for the Guzheng*

1955 Zhang Yongyuan - *A Gu Zheng Primer*

1957 Cao Zheng - *Selected Music for the Zheng - II*

1958 Cao Zheng - *Anthology of Music for the Solo Zheng*

1958 Cao Zheng - *Tan Zheng de Yanzou Jishu ji qi Gexin* (On *Zheng* Performing Technique and Its Reform)

1960 Zhao Yuzhai - *Guzheng Quji* (A Selection of *Zheng* Music)

1960 Zhao Yuzhai - *Zhengqu Xuanji* (A Collection of *Guzheng* Music)

1962 Chen Leishi - *Zheng de Qiyuan ji Yanbian* (The Origin and Development of the *guzheng*)

1977 Hon Seewah & Fan Shang'e - *Donghai Yuge* (East Sea Fishermen's Songs)

1979 Cao Yong'an & Li Bian - *Cao Dongfu Zheng Quji* (Cao Dongfu's Collection of *Zheng* Music)

1980 Lin Maogen & Chen Anhua - *Chaozhou Yinyue yu Chaozhou Suitan* (About Chaozhou Music and Chaozhou *Zheng*)

1981 Lin Maogen & Chen Anhua - *Chaozhou Zhengqu* (Chaozhou *Zheng* Music)

1981 Chen Leishi - *Chaoyue Juepu Ersi Pu Yuanlin Kao* (Research on the Origin and Development of the Chaozhou Music Notation, *Ersi* Notation)

1981 Cao Zheng - *Lidai Wenyi Zuopin zhong de Zheng* (The *Zheng* in Ancient Literary Works)

1981 Cao Zheng - *Cuanyu Guzheng Lishi de Tantao* (Research on the History of the *Zheng*)

1982 Chen Anhua - *Zatan Chaoyue yu Hanyue* (Talking About Chaozhou and Kejia Music)

1983 People's Music Publishing - *Yinhe Bipo: Zheng Quxuan* (Blue Waves of the Milky Way: A Collection of *Zheng* Composition)

1984 Li Huanzhi - *Miluo Jiang Huan Xiang Qu* (Fantasy of Miluo River)—A music score for *zheng* and Chinese instrumental Orchestra.

1985 Shi Zhaoyuan (Editor)- *Han Yue Zheng Qu Sishi Shou* (Forty Pieces for the Han *Zheng*) —The Scores were handed down by Lou Jiuxiang.

1985 Cao Zheng - *Chaozhou Guzheng Liupai de Jieshao* (An Introduction to the Chaozhou *Zheng* School)

1985 Gao Zicheng - *Shandong Zheng Quji* (A Collection of Shandong *Zheng* Music)

1986 Chen Maojin - *Fujian Zhenggujin* (A Collection of Fujian *Zheng* Music)

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[1] I have unfortunately not kept a record of the publishers of these scores. However, I decide to list them here anyway for completeness. This is a list of scores before 1991 to which I had access.

1986 Cao Zheng - *Zhengqu Xuanji* (A Collection of *Zheng* Compositions)-- Including staff notation.

1987 Jiao Jinhai - *Zheng Yanzou Fa* (Performing Techniques of the *Zheng*)

1987 People's Music Publishing - *Guzheng Quji* (A Collection of *Zheng* Music: 1949-1979).

1987 Fan Shang'e - *Guo Ying Yanzou de Chaozhou Zheng Quxuan* (Collection of Guo Ying's Performance on *Zheng*)

1988 People's Music Publishing - *Guzheng Daquan* (A Collection of *Zheng* Music)

1991 Chen JinMao - *Minnan Zheng Quji* (Collection of Minnan *Zheng*)

Discography

Cao Guifen 曹桂芬

1994 *Shiliu Huakai* 石榴花开
(Henan Tsao Pay Zheng Solo), Taipei, Pacific International Music and Publishing Co. (PCD-11063)

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1992 *Shanhua Chun* 山花春 [Spring of Moutatin Flowers]
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Changkat 尚育

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(The Fragrant Jasmine), Hong Kong, ROI Productions Ltd. (RA-951003C)

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Chen Huilan 陈慧兰

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Wanqing Shanfang 晚晴山房, *Fanyin Wenhua Shhiye Youxian Gongsi* 梵音文化事业有限公司, Taipei (CD029)

Chen Louis 陈蕾士

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